



---

# ***Daily Report***

# **East Europe**

FBIS-EEU-89-129  
Friday  
7 July 1989

# Daily Report

## East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-129

### CONTENTS

7 July 1989

#### INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

|                                                 |   |
|-------------------------------------------------|---|
| Warsaw Pact Meeting To Begin in Bucharest       | 1 |
| Honecker, Stoph Depart [ADN]                    | 1 |
| Honecker, Others Arrive [ADN]                   | 1 |
| Nyers-Led Delegation Departs [MTI]              | 1 |
| Jaruzelski Heads Delegation [PAP]               | 1 |
| Jaruzelski Greeted on Arrival [Warsaw Radio]    | 1 |
| Zhivkov, Delegation Leave [BTA]                 | 1 |
| CSSR Delegation Arrives [Prague Radio]          | 2 |
| Ceausescu Welcomes Delegations [AGERPRES 6 Jul] | 2 |
| Summit Opens 7 July [Bucharest Radio]           | 3 |
| ADN Reports Meeting Begins                      | 3 |

#### ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

|                                                        |   |
|--------------------------------------------------------|---|
| Disarmament Conference Begins 4 Jul in Geneva          | 4 |
| UN Envoy Comments [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 4 Jul]            | 4 |
| Proposal on ASAT Weapons Ban [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 5 Jul] | 4 |
| Hungarian Proposal Aired [MTI]                         | 4 |
| Hungarian Delegate on Military Data Publication [MTI]  | 4 |

#### ALBANIA

|                                                  |   |
|--------------------------------------------------|---|
| BASHKIMI Reports Nexhmije Hoxha Address [27 Jun] | 5 |
|--------------------------------------------------|---|

#### BULGARIA

|                                                                            |    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Zhivkov Greets RSA Party Leader on Election [RABOTNICHESKO DELO 1 Jul]     | 18 |
| Dzhagarov Meets With Syrian Vice President [BTA]                           | 18 |
| Turkish Harassment of Bulgarian Muslims Alleged [OTECHESTVEN FRONT 5 Jul]  | 18 |
| AKEL Politburo Member Denounces Turkish Policy [OTECHESTVEN FRONT 5 Jul]   | 19 |
| Editorial Urges Citizens To Observe Law, Order [RABOTNICHESKO DELO 5 Jul]  | 19 |
| Ovcharov, PPR's Gajek Sign Cooperation Accord [BTA]                        | 20 |
| Industry Cooperation Protocol Signed With PRC [BTA]                        | 20 |
| Kubadinski Interviewed on New Social Structures [OTECHESTVEN FRONT 30 Jun] | 21 |
| Tank Regiment Withdrawal From Poland Reported [OTECHESTVEN FRONT 5 Jul]    | 23 |
| Decree on Peacetime Mobilization Discussed [TRUD 4 Jul]                    | 23 |
| Economist Urges Cooperation With CEMA Reforms [RABOTNICHESKO DELO 28 Jun]  | 24 |
| Good Economic Results Expected in First 6 Months [BTA]                     | 25 |
| Sofia Kremikovtzi Plant Converts to Natural Gas [Sofia Radio]              | 25 |
| Health Ministry Says Black Sea Pollution-Free [BTA]                        | 26 |
| POGLED Reviews Remedies for Prostitution [No 26]                           | 26 |
| Leaders' Public Appearances for 23-30 Jun                                  | 26 |

#### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

|                                                                      |    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Press Reports on Discussion at CPCZ Plenum [RUDE PRAVO]              | 28 |
| Adamec Receives, Holds Talks With GDR's Steif [Prague Radio]         | 30 |
| Lenart Returns From Visit to Yugoslavia [CTK]                        | 30 |
| Stepan Attends Youth Festival in Pyongyang [RUDE PRAVO 1 Jul]        | 31 |
| Stepan Received by Kim Il-song [RUDE PRAVO 4 Jul]                    | 31 |
| Johanes Interviewed on CSSR Mideast Policy [Damascus AL-BATH 26 Jun] | 31 |
| Zavadil Ends Talks, Official Visit to Spain [RUDE PRAVO 29 Jun]      | 33 |

|                                                               |    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Press Examines 'Crusade' Against Socialism [RUDE PRAVO] ..... | 34 |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|----|

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

|                                                                               |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Honecker Sends Condolence Message on Kadar Death [ADN] .....                  | 38 |
| Honecker's Speech at Rally in Magnitogorsk [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 30 Jun] .....   | 38 |
| Kessler Evaluates Central Committee Session [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 1-2 Jul] ..... | 41 |
| Talks Held With USSR State Planning Committee .....                           | 41 |
| Schuerer, Maslyukov Head Talks [ADN] .....                                    | 41 |
| Honecker Meets With Maslyukov [ADN] .....                                     | 41 |
| FRG's Seiters Continues Visit, Delivers Speeches .....                        | 42 |
| Fischer Hosts Luncheon [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 5 Jul] .....                        | 42 |
| Fischer Toast at Luncheon [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 5 Jul] .....                     | 42 |
| Seiters Delivers Toasts [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 6 Jul] .....                       | 44 |
| Seiters Holds News Conference [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 5 Jul] .....                 | 45 |
| Transport Cooperation Discussed With CSSR [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 5 Jul] .....     | 45 |
| Pyongyang 13th World Youth Festival Continues .....                           | 45 |
| Honecker Greets Participants [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 1-2 Jul] .....                | 45 |
| Krenz Concludes Visit [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 4 Jul] .....                         | 46 |
| Winkelman Receives PRC Regional Officials [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 5 Jul] .....     | 46 |
| DPRK Envoy on Korean Peninsula Peace Zone [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 29 Jun] .....    | 46 |
| Palestinian Red Crescent President Received [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 30 Jun] .....  | 47 |
| Chile's Teitelboim Holds News Conference [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 5 Jul] .....      | 47 |
| Peruvian Roca Caseres Praises Cooperation [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 5 Jul] .....     | 48 |
| Mueckenberger Receives Ecuadoran Communists [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 29 Jun] .....  | 48 |

## HUNGARY

|                                                                                |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Proceedings Following Death of Janos Kadar .....                               | 49 |
| Presidium Pays Tribute to Kadar [Budapest Radio] .....                         | 49 |
| Grosz on Kadar's Career [Budapest Radio] .....                                 | 49 |
| Funeral Committee Formed [Budapest Radio] .....                                | 49 |
| Obituary Praises Kadar [MTI] .....                                             | 50 |
| Kadar's Career Reviewed [MTI] .....                                            | 50 |
| Grosz Interviewed on Career, Decisions, Future [MAGYAR HIRLAP 29 Jun] .....    | 51 |
| Supreme Court Annuls Sentences on Nagy, Others [Budapest Radio] .....          | 54 |
| Court Decision Detailed [MTI] .....                                            | 55 |
| Nemeth Speaks at National Youth Forum [MTI] .....                              | 55 |
| Nemeth on Social, Youth Policies [Budapest TV] .....                           | 55 |
| Nyers, Grosz Receive Portugal's Alvaro Cunhal [MTI] .....                      | 56 |
| Barabas Attends Renewal Party Meeting 1 Jul [MTI] .....                        | 56 |
| Bihari Interviewed on Democratic Movement [Budapest Radio] .....               | 57 |
| October Party Leader Interviewed on Policy [Budapest Radio] .....              | 57 |
| Serbian Official on Minorities in Hungary, Romania [NEPSZABADSAG 28 Jun] ..... | 59 |

## POLAND

|                                                                               |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| U.S. Security Expert Interviewed on Bush Visit [TRYBUNA LUDU 4 Jul] .....     | 60 |
| Jaruzelski Letter to Mitterrand on Western Aid [PAP] .....                    | 60 |
| Walesa 'Very Much' Wishes to Meet Gorbachev [PAP] .....                       | 60 |
| AFP Reports Walesa 'Ready' .....                                              | 60 |
| Coverage of 10th Sejm, Senate Sessions Continues .....                        | 61 |
| Data on Deputies, Senators [TRYBUNA LUDU] .....                               | 61 |
| Orzechowski on 'Successful' Session [PAP] .....                               | 61 |
| PAP Summarizes Senate .....                                                   | 62 |
| Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group Convenes [PAP] .....                      | 63 |
| Group Officials Elected [Warsaw Radio] .....                                  | 64 |
| Minister Olesiak Queried on Economic Mechanisms [PAP] .....                   | 64 |
| Sociopolitical Group Views Government Performance [TRYBUNA LUDU 30 Jun] ..... | 65 |
| National Trade Union Accord Council Begins .....                              | 65 |
| Discusses Market Mechanisms [PAP] .....                                       | 65 |

|                                                                    |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Supports Miodowicz Independent Action [Warsaw Radio]               | 66 |
| Miodowicz Proposals Rejected [PAP]                                 | 66 |
| Transportation, Communication Workers Strike                       | 66 |
| Strikes Continue in Various Towns [PAP]                            | 66 |
| Bydgoszcz Workers Return to Work [Warsaw Radio]                    | 67 |
| Illegal Rally Held, Chants 'Soviets Go Home' [PAP]                 | 67 |
| Paper Responds to Michnik Commentary on USSR [PAP]                 | 67 |
| Monument To Boleslaw Bierut To Be Demolished [PAP]                 | 67 |
| Army Delegation To Visit U.S. in July, August [PAP]                | 67 |
| NOVOSTI Extols New Soviet SU-27 Fighter [ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI 28 Jun] | 67 |
| Defense Spokesman on Glider Collision in Lubin [PAP]               | 67 |
| Portuguese Communist Party Leader Cunhal Visits                    | 68 |
| Cunhal Arrives in Warsaw [PAP]                                     | 68 |
| Jaruzelski Receives Cunhal [PAP]                                   | 69 |
| Cunhal Leaves for Berlin [PAP]                                     | 69 |
| Government, Church Sign Pact on Universities [PAP]                 | 69 |
| Rakowski Meets Cardinal Gulbinowicz in Worclaw [Warsaw Radio]      | 69 |

## ROMANIA

|                                                          |    |
|----------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Ceausescu RCP Plenum Address Published [SCINTEIA 29 Jun] | 70 |
|----------------------------------------------------------|----|

## YUGOSLAVIA

|                                                                  |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Vajgl Queries Purpose of U.S. Kosovo Amendment [TANJUG]          | 87 |
| Loncar, Iran's Velayati Hold Concluding Talks [TANJUG]           | 87 |
| FEC Answers Questions About Events in Kosovo [BORBA 1-2 Jul]     | 87 |
| FEC Queried About Attack Against Markovic [Belgrade Radio]       | 88 |
| Albanian 'Hostile Activity' Noted in Montenegro [POLITIKA 4 Jul] | 88 |
| Stojcevic Addresses Korcula Political Aktiv [BORBA 3 Jul]        | 89 |
| DELO Publishes Yugoslav Alliance Platform [24 Jun]               | 90 |
| New Facts on Ljubljana Trial Sent to Presidency [Belgrade Radio] | 93 |



## Warsaw Pact Meeting To Begin in Bucharest

### Honecker, Stoph Depart

LD0607164189 East Berlin ADN International Service  
in German 1353 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, traveled this afternoon to Bucharest to take part in the meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee. The delegation, headed by Erich Honecker, includes SED Central Committee Politburo members Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Hermann Axen, secretary of the SED Central Committee; Heinz Kessler, minister of national defense; Egon Krenz, secretary of the SED Central Committee; and Guenter Mittag, secretary of the SED Central Committee; as well as Oskar Fischer, GDR minister for foreign affairs.

Erich Honecker and those accompanying him were seen off at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport by members of the state and party leadership. Gheorghe Caranfil, Romanian ambassador to the GDR, was also present.

### Honecker, Others Arrive

LD0607181689 East Berlin ADN International Service  
in German 1607 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Bucharest (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, leading the GDR delegation to the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee meeting, arrived in Bucharest on Thursday evening.

Erich Honecker and the other delegation members were warmly welcomed by Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Romanian Socialist Republic. Other members of the party and state leadership of the host country were present during the Bucharest-Otopeni Airport greeting. [passage omitted]

The delegation includes experts, among them SED Central Committee members, State Secretary Frank-Joachim Herrmann, chief of the chancery of the Council of State chairman, and Guenter Sieber, director of the SED Central Committee International Relations Department.

### Nyers-Led Delegation Departs

LD0607173289 Budapest MTI in English  
1600 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 6 (MTI)—A delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic headed by Rezso Nyers, HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] president, left for Bucharest on Thursday to attend the session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw

Treaty member states. The delegation includes Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Gyula Horn, foreign minister, and Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence.

### Jaruzelski Heads Delegation

LD0607053489 Warsaw PAP in English  
0508 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 6—A Polish delegation for a two-day meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty will leave for Bucharest in the afternoon today. The delegation is headed by PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] CC [Central Committee] first secretary, President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The delegation is composed of PUWP CC Political Bureau member, Polish Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Political Bureau member, PUWP CC Secretary Jozef Czyrek, PUWP CC Political Bureau member, Minister of Internal Affairs Czeslaw Kisz Czak, PUWP CC Political Bureau member, Minister of National Defence Florian Siwicki, Minister of Foreign Affairs Tadeusz Olechowski. The delegation is accompanied by a group of advisers and experts.

### Jaruzelski Greeted on Arrival

LD0607180389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish  
1730 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Participants in tomorrow's meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee are arriving in Bucharest.

[Correspondent] The plane carrying the Polish delegation landed at Bucharest airport at 1750 [1550 GMT]. Jaruzelski, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Czeslaw Kiszczak, Tadeusz Olechowski, and Florian Siwicki were greeted by Nicolae Ceausescu. [passage omitted]

### Zhivkov, Delegation Leave

AU0607153089 Sofia BTA in English  
1430 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Sofia, July 6 (BTA)—A delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, led by Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the Central Committee of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council, today left for Romania to attend the regular meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the states party to the Warsaw Treaty. The delegation comprises Mr Georgi Atanasov, Politburo member of the Central Committee of the BCP and chairman of the Council of Ministers, Army General Dobri Dzhurov, Politburo member of the Central Committee of the BCP and minister of national defence, Mr Petur Mladenov, Politburo member of the Central Committee of the BCP and minister of foreign affairs, and Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the Central Committee of the BCP.

### **CSSR Delegation Arrives**

*LD0607203289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech  
1930 GMT 6 Jul 89*

[Excerpt] A Czechoslovak delegation headed by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, arrived by air this evening in Bucharest to attend a regular session of the Warsaw Pact states' Political Consultative Committee. [passage omitted]

### **Ceausescu Welcomes Delegations**

*AU0607203889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English  
1920 GMT 6 Jul 89*

["Delegations to the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Participating in the Warsaw Treaty Arrive in Bucharest"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 6/7/1989—On Thursday in the afternoon, the delegations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics arrived in the Romanian capital city to attend the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the states participating in the Warsaw Treaty.

At the Otopeni Airport, the delegations were warmly welcomed by Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, in the order of their arrival:

The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria led by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP), president of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The delegation includes Georgi Atanasov, member of the Political Bureau of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Dobri Dzhuurov, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the BCP, minister of national defence; Petur Mladenov, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of BCP, minister of foreign affairs; Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP.

The delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic led by Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP).

The delegation includes Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Gyula Horn, minister of foreign affairs; Ferenc Karpati, minister of national defence.

The delegation of the German Democratic Republic led by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic.

The delegation includes Willi Stoph, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany], chairman of the Council of Ministers; Hermann Axen, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the CC of the SED; Heinz Kessler, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the SED, minister of national defence; Egon Krenz, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the CC of the SED, vice-chairman of the Council of State; Guenter Mittag, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the CC of the SED, vice-chairman of the Council of State; Oskar Fischer, member of the CC of the SED, foreign affairs minister.

The delegation of the Polish People's Republic led by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP), president of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic.

The delegation includes Mieczyslaw Rakowski, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PUWP, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Jozef Czyrek, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the CC of the PUWP; Czeslaw Kiszczak, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PUWP, minister of internal affairs; Florian Siwicki, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PUWP, minister of national defence; Tadeusz Olechowski, minister of foreign affairs.

The delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic led by Milos Jakes, secretary-general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The delegation includes Gustav Husak, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ), president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; Ladislav Adamec, member of the Presidium of the CC of the CPCZ, prime minister; Josef Lenart, member of the Presidium, secretary of the CC of the CPCZ; Jaromir Johanes, minister of foreign affairs; Milan Vlacik, member of the CC of the CPCZ, minister of national defence.

The delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics led by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), president of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

The delegation includes Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR; Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU, minister of foreign affairs; Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC of the CPSU; Dmitriy Yazov, candidate member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU, minister of defence.

7 July 1989

Present at the airport to welcome the delegations were full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], secretaries of the CC of the RCP, members of the State Council and of the government, other officials.

Present were the ambassadors of the respective countries in Bucharest.

x x x

Also in Bucharest to attend the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the states participating in the Warsaw Treaty are Army General Petr Lushev, commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces, and Army General Vladimir Lobov, chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces.

#### **Summit Opens 7 July**

*AU0707082389 Bucharest Domestic Service  
in Romanian 0800 GMT 7 Jul 89*

[Text] The meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member countries began at Bucharest's Palace of the Republic this morning.

The meeting is attended by a delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria led by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and president of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; a CSSR delegation led by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; a GDR delegation led by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council; a delegation of the Polish People's Republic led by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party and president of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic; a delegation of the Socialist Republic

of Romania led by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania; a delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic led by Rezső Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party; and a USSR delegation led by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The meeting is also attended by Army General Petr Lushev, chief commander of the Joint Armed Forces.

Opening the proceedings, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu greeted the presence in Bucharest of the party and state leaders of the states attending the meeting, the other members of the delegations, and emphasized the particular importance of the current meeting for giving an impetus to the process of disarmament, peace, and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world.

The proceedings of the meeting are continuing.

#### **ADN Reports Meeting Begins**

*LD0707081689 East Berlin ADN International Service  
in Germany 0643 GMT 07 Jul 89*

[Text] Bucharest (ADN)—The meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee began this morning in Bucharest.

The highest body of the coalition of European socialist countries will discuss topical international matters, in particular, further disarmament and the securing of peace. The discussions are set to last until around midday Saturday, in the Palace of the Republic, the seat of the State Council.

The GDR delegation is headed by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the State Council. Delegations from the other member states are also headed by the highest representatives.

## Disarmament Conference Begins 4 Jul in Geneva

### UN Envoy Comments

AU0507185489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND  
in German 4 Jul 89 p 1

[ADN report: "GDR Attaches Utmost Importance to Disarmament Questions; Head of Delegation to Geneva Addressed UN Course"]

[Text] Geneva (ADN)—Disarmament is the most direct and effective way to guarantee mankind's security and survival in the nuclear and cosmic age. Therefore, the GDR attaches utmost importance to disarmament questions, Ambassador Dr Peter Dietze, head of the GDR delegation to the Geneva Disarmament Conference, stated at the opening of a UN disarmament course in Geneva on Monday [3 July].

A continuous increase in military spendings especially while the developing countries are facing great economic and social problems, contradicts any human reason. Disarmament makes it possible to prevent the militarization of international life, to build confidence, and to reduce hostilities. The GDR's great commitment to disarmament and peace is due to historical experiences and its geographical position, Ambassador Dr Dietze said. At the dividing line between the two strongest military alliances, it is consistently struggling so that an armed conflict will never again start from German soil.

### Proposal on ASAT Weapons Ban

AU0607123789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND  
in German 5 July 89 p 1

[ADN report: "GDR Proposal on Banning Antisatellite Weapons"]

[Text] Geneva (ADN)—On Tuesday [4 July] the GDR presented a proposal on banning of antisatellite (ASAT) weapons at the Geneva disarmament conference. It supplements a 1987 joint initiative of the GDR and the Mongolian Peoples' Republic, with which both states presented to the conference the basic elements of a treaty on banning ASAT weapons and ways of guaranteeing the immunity of objects in space.

The document "Components of ASAT Weapons and Ways to Verify Their Ban" deals with problems of defining and categorizing ASAT weapons and shows possibilities for an effective verification of future treaties. It proceeds from the premise that technical development is most highly advanced concerning so-called conventional ASAT weapons and that therefore their ban is particularly urgent, Ambassador Peter Dietze explained at the plenary session.

With the ideas that were presented the discussion about space weapons or components, about a ban of these weapons, and about its verification could be advanced. For 8 years preventing the arms race in space has been on the

agenda of the conference, Ambassador Dietze recalled. Many proposals are on the table. Now it is time to deal with the matter no matter what obstacles there might be.

### Hungarian Proposal Aired

LD0607170289 Budapest MTI in English  
1059 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Geneva, July 6 (MTI)—The Hungarian delegation has submitted a proposal in Geneva on the complete ban of radiological weapons and a ban on attacks against nuclear facilities.

At the Thursday session of the disarmament conference, Ambassador Istvan Varga, leader of the Hungarian delegation, noted that the results attained in the field of political cooperation, particularly in Europe, should be supported by major disarmament agreements. Although radiological weapons do not as yet exist, the prevention of their appearance would serve to create and intensify confidence.

As a result of the talks that have been in progress for quite some time, extensive agreement is emerging with respect to certain details.

The Hungarian proposal, which strives to pave the way for further progress starting from the summarization of results so far, relies on this.

### Hungarian Delegate on Military Data Publication

LD0507084589 Budapest MTI in English  
1553 GMT 4 Jul 89

[Text] Vienna, July 4 (MTI)—Istvan Gyarmati, deputy head of the Hungarian delegation, addressed the Vienna talks in progress on the reduction of European conventional weapons. Mr Gyarmati presented detailed data to the negotiating partners on a major part of the Hungarian armed forces, the armoured troops, their structure and battle order, positions, and the number of soldiers in service.

Mr Gyarmati recalled that in the course of the talks, the Hungarian delegation has from the very first taken an active stand for the 23 countries of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO to make data on their armed forces available in the interest of military openness and the progress of the talks. Almost all negotiating sides received this with agreement, however, no single delegation has so far taken concrete steps to present data related to their battle order.

This Hungarian initiative can accelerate working out the agreement, as it makes concrete and also further develops the debate held so far on arms systems to be included in the reduction and restriction. Should there be response, it would help create agreement which is indispensable for the verification of the agreement.

The Hungarian step, which is in harmony with the comprehensive proposal of the Warsaw Treaty member state submitted at the start of the talks, was favourably evaluated at Tuesday's session by representatives of the Polish, British and Canadian delegations addressing the meeting.



**BASHKIMI Reports Nexhmije Hoxha Address**  
*AU0507104589 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian*  
27 Jun 89 p 4-7

[Report by Nexhmije Hoxha, chairman of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, to the Sixth Democratic Front Congress in Tirana on 26 June: "The Democratic Front—Broad Support for the Party in the Socialist Construction of the Nation—Report of the Democratic Front General Council, delivered by Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha"]

[Text] Comrade delegates, the Sixth Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania is a highly important event on our country's political life. It meets at a time when all our working masses are mobilized to honorably carry out the historic decisions of the Ninth Party Congress and the plenums of its Central Committee, and to solemnly mark the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution.

During 45 years of the people's power, a new society, confident in its future, has been built and forged with unprecedented efforts, skill, and courage. Our radiant socialist reality, the entirely new aspect that our country has assumed in its economy and culture, and its wholly new relations in society testify clearly to this. We are right to be proud of our free and independent state, our new and educated workers class, our united and progressive peasantry, our healthy and cultured younger generation, our emancipated women, and our new people's intelligentsia. Our impregnable defense and the honored and respected position Socialist Albania enjoys in the international arena constitute a further affirmation of the deep, revolutionary change that our lives have undergone.

In all the great events that the Front organization has lived through since the Conference of Peze, when the foundations for the union of the Albanian people in the glorious National Liberation War were laid, we had its founder and leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, among us. This is the first congress of the Front without Enver. However, he will always remain the architect of the unity of the people in the glorious National Liberation War and in the unprecedented struggles for the construction of a new Albania. The monolithic unity of the people around the party is the invaluable inheritance that Enver left to us. The torch of unity that he lit at heroic Peze will never be quenched, and will illuminate our inexorable progress on the road toward new victories. Therefore, he too will be among us.

This congress is a noteworthy event in the life of our organization, because it will draw up a balance sheet of the successes we have achieved during the 10 years since the Fifth Congress. Looking at the changes that have been made and the victories that have been won in our socialist homeland during this period, we can say with satisfaction that the Democratic Front has fulfilled its

political mission extremely well. It has become stronger and more solid, has acquired deep political and ideological maturity, and has gained new strength to mobilize and act.

In Socialist Albania, the people are masters of their own destiny. They have expended their blood and sweat to achieve the life we enjoy now. They have built everything with labor, struggle, self-denial, and admirable skill. All of us, young and old, are proud of the road we have covered, and look confidently to the future, toward which the standard bearer of our revolution, the Albanian Workers Party headed by Comrade Ramiz Alia, leads us with determination and clear thinking.

**1. Albania's Strength Lies in the Unity of the People, Gathered in the Democratic Front Around the Party**

The time that has elapsed since the Fifth Democratic Front Congress has affirmed with renewed strength the impregnable unity that exists in the bosom of our people and their steel-like unity with the party.

In these years, the nation's life has been further revolutionized, and our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat has become even stronger. The socialist system and the immortal ideas of Marxism-Leninism have magnificently displayed their inexhaustible vitality. These have been dynamic years, during which the people and the party drafted and executed plans for economic and cultural development with higher and more substantial objectives, relying entirely on our own resources, without help or loans of any kind from abroad.

Tackling and successfully carrying out all these tasks has enabled the entire people, and the classes and harmonious social strata that make up the people, to advance as a single body, united in total accord of ideals and feelings, in steel-like unity of thought and action.

In this unity, the people have found the strength and courage to confront the difficulties of growth and those posed by the times, the interference, pressure, and most vicious blackmail to which imperialists and revisionists of all hues have subjected us. In this unity, the party and people found the strength and courage to expose and destroy all the hostile groups, conspirators, and putschists who sought to overthrow the power of the people. The experience of the struggle against them is an important lesson in our history, teaching us to be always vigilant in implementing the party line and consistently waging the class struggle.

The cohesion and grandeur of the unity of our people was shown in fresh splendor during the electoral campaign for the people's councils and courts on 7 May this

year. The full and enthusiastic participation of the people at the polls, and the unanimous vote for the candidates of the Democratic Front were a further demonstration of our unbreakable unity and its vitality and stability and were an expression of our socialist democracy.

The achievements of recent decades and of the 45 years of freedom and socialism in Albania affirm the great and undeniable truth that the leadership of the party at every stage has been the source of the Democratic Front's strength and success. The people have nicely summed up this historic truth, tested in all of the battles to radically transform the homeland and to build a new life, in the expression, "What the people want, the party does; what the party says, the people do."

It is precisely this vital and irreplaceable leading role of the party, the correctness of its line, and its transformation of words into deeds that have been and remain the surest guarantee of our steel-like unity. The party's line, program, and ideology have expressed and articulated the people's most cherished aspirations. For this reason, the unity of the party and people has long been an essential characteristic of the Albanian people, and has been our honor and pride.

We must cherish this unity in our inmost hearts, continually forging it and making it stronger. It is a necessity at all times. The internal and external conditions under which our people are building and defending socialist society call for it. The great problems of development today and in the future call for it. Experience has convinced us that only a people who close their ranks in unity of thinking, purpose, and action around its Marxist-Leninist party is able to secure and preserve inviolate the homeland's freedom and independence, to continually develop and progress, and to successfully confront all difficulties and obstacles of any nature whatsoever.

The way to constantly preserve and forge this unity of the people is to strengthen its ideopolitical foundation and to learn, master, and defend the party's line. The entire program of our party, which embodies Albania's transformation and draws up its future, is pervaded with Marxist-Leninist ideology. The inculcation of the theory of our party and the laws of socialist construction becomes more than ever necessary in order to create among our people a sound and stable conviction of the vitality and superiority of the socialist order, and to confront the major campaign launched by the bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists against Marxism and socialism.

The organizations of the Front must carry out their ideopolitical work for the ideological maturation of the people, especially the younger generation that is embarking on life, through revolutionary action, through daily explanatory and educational work with the masses, at centers of work and production, where people live, and where problems arise that call for practical solutions.

The party's instruction that emphasizes the primary importance of work at a personal level is an imperative demand for the Democratic Front, so that its work in convincing and explaining matters to the masses and mobilizing them in labor and all other areas of life should rely more strongly on extensive, one-to-one communication with people. We have a splendid tradition in this field, which the Front has inherited from the stirring days of the war, and which it must develop and enrich in accordance with the masses' higher standard of education and their rising expectations. Work at a personal level rejects slogans, stereotypes, jargon, and formalism of all kinds. It calls for an open, frank, and mannerly exchange of views on issues and tasks, in order to find the most suitable solutions.

Work of this kind, relying on specific problems and tasks of development and all of the decisions and measures the party has enacted to raise people's material and cultural level and to thoroughly emancipate life, wins people's hearts and brings out the intellectual and physical potential of communists, cadres, specialists, the workers class, and the cooperativist peasantry. In this way, it brings people closer to each other and to the party, and increases their conviction that they are living and striving in a just and progressive society, which focuses its attention on care for the people, their work and creativity, and the security and prosperity of the homeland.

The continual strengthening and forging of the unity of the people is organically and intimately linked with the development and strengthening of socialism. The more socialism progresses, the more solid and powerful the unity of the people becomes, the more it spreads in both extent and substance, and the more the masses become consciously mobilized to carry out every duty prescribed by the party. The task of our organization of the Democratic Front is, as always, to use all of its strength to support the plans and programs of the party and the state for the socialist development of the country and to mobilize all the working people in towns and the countryside to carry them out.

At the present stage of socialist construction, the party has set major tasks in all fields of life; these involve boosting rates of industrial and agricultural production and especially refining economic relations in agriculture, harmonizing the development of different zones and regions, increasing the material prosperity of the masses, and furthering the cultural emancipation of our people as a whole. Consolidating unity and the successful performance of these tasks are mutually dependent, because the unity of the people is not something frozen and established once and for all. It resembles a living organism that moves, develops, and acquires new qualities. It is therefore the task of the Front organizations to tackle better than they have until now, the new problems that the socialist construction of the nation produces, and to always consider them as their fundamental field of activity, convincing the masses that the party's plans and programs embody their essential interests, but that



results do not simply arrive of their own accord. They are achieved when all of the human and material potential that socialism has created in Albania is brought into action.

The party consistently and farsightedly took this path in planning for the future. Our heroic workers class, numerically small but persuaded of the correctness of the party's line and program, shouldered the task of fulfilling magnificent plans for socialist construction. In this process of struggle and development, it was transformed into a great army, forged politically and ideologically, and with high cultural and professional standards. It is now able not only to solve the most complex problems of our diversified industry, but to set the tone of the nation's entire life.

In this way, the alliance between the workers class and the peasantry, which constitutes the powerful basis of the power and political unity of our people within the Democratic Front, has grown stronger. Let us recall the time when the party issued the call to collectivize agriculture. Our patriotic peasantry, just as in the struggle for freedom, answered this new call of the party, because they trusted the party's word and the future that the party painted for them. Now, the collectivization of agriculture represents not only an economic triumph that guarantees prosperity, but a political and social victory of incalculable value not only for the cooperative peasantry, but for the whole of society, because it has cemented the basis of unity for two-thirds of the population of our country, has cultivated to an unprecedented degree the spirit of solidarity and collectivism, and has consolidated the foundations of socialism.

All our people committed themselves to this great process of transformation and consciousness-raising by giving their skilled contribution. Albanian young people and women further developed their revolutionary characteristics. In this process, our socialist intelligentsia were formed, becoming a major agent of development and progress. The unity of purpose and interests of these harmonious classes and social strata has been and remains a strong foundation on which the great unity of all of our people vitally and securely relies.

Our organization remains perpetually fresh and dynamic, and is always renewing itself because the generations are united in its ranks; fathers and sons are joined and welded in a single body. War and labor veterans struggle shoulder to shoulder with today's younger generation, who constitute the liveliest section of the Front, full of creative strength and vigor. Veterans, both men and women, who unstintingly poured their blood, sweat, and skills into the foundations of the new Albania, were themselves young in those days when they fought and threw themselves courageously into the radical transformation of Albania, building factories, founding agricultural cooperatives, opening schools, and developing culture. In the course of their work, their experience of a new way of thinking and a collectivist

spirit was passed on to the young. The sacrifices they made, and their exemplary willpower and dedication, are an inspiration to the young people of today, who respect and appreciate their great achievements and determinedly follow in their fathers' footsteps.

This continuity and natural, organic unity of the generations is a noble and humane characteristic of our society, testifying once again to the superiority of socialism as the most humane form of social order. It is the task of our organization to perpetually perfect and temper this unity of the generations and of hearts and minds, bringing together the wisdom and experience of the older generation and the energy, willpower, talents, and knowledge of the people's sons and daughters.

Our people are characterized by ardent patriotism. They made the supreme sacrifice for the freedom and independence of their homeland, and now stand ready to unflinchingly oppose anyone who seeks to encroach on their land or on the victories of socialism and the way of life that they have created through the sweat of their brow.

Patriotism among us has been enriched with new, contemporary values and has assumed a new appearance and significance. It has been and remains a true national treasure. Both cosmopolitanism and chauvinism are equally alien to it. Our people have shown in their deeds that they are simultaneously great patriots and internationalists.

Both today and for the future, preserving and reinforcing the victories of the people's revolution and the freedom and independence of the socialist homeland remain among the principal tasks for the Democratic Front in acting on the party's instruction that every citizen should also be a trained soldier, aware of his mission.

However, our task does not end here. The party teaches us to think of defense in broader terms, in accordance with the new stage of the country's economic and social development. Today our homeland's defense lies in those who consider not only guns as a weapon in the cause of freedom, but also the honorable and disciplined performance of everyday duties, high productivity, fulfilling plans and protecting social property, striving for more knowledge and for higher standards in education, science, culture, and the arts. A strong economy, a rich and modern creative life, and a society with high ideals automatically become a new, life-giving source of development and unity. We must implant more deeply in the minds of the people that a patriot is a patriot every day, and that a genuine revolutionary is a revolutionary in his daily work, in his life, and in society.

## **2. The Role and Tasks of the Democratic Front for the Progress of the Economy and Greater Prosperity**

During the 45 years of the power of the people, the years of the party, the boldest and finest dreams of our long-suffering people have come true. Poverty, illiteracy,

and disease have been banished from our hearths with the oppressors and exploiters. Ordinary people rightly say that we have lived for centuries on this land, but we could never even eat our fill of bread: It has been the party which has enabled the land to flourish and has shown us how to learn and work. The marshes have been drained, new arable land has been brought into use, and a modern, socialist agricultural system now feeds a population that is three times bigger than it was before. Were it not for the party's wise and farsighted agricultural policy, our country, especially during the prolonged droughts of recent years, would be facing a severe crisis in ensuring the necessary supply of food, even bread.

Our mountains, during the centuries of our history, have been the allies of our fighters for freedom, and our people therefore love them dearly. However, they are now even more dearly loved, because, in the era of the party, the sons of the people have cleaved them like the heroes of legend, and are extracting the inexhaustible wealth they hold in their inner depths. They have not only become a source of prosperity for the people who have lived for so long among the rocks and crags, but have become the foundation and main resource of our new, diversified industry.

Forty-five years ago, the people usually lit their cottages with candles and tapers, even though there was oil beneath their feet and the rivers flowed before their eyes. It required the correct policies of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha to undertake the difficult and courageous projects and to make the great investments necessary for creating the modern, diversified industry with its metal-working combines, chemical plants, food-processing and light industry, and gigantic hydroelectric stations, without which we could not have accomplished the extensive and independent development of our economy and culture.

The new, Socialist Albania, built from its foundations during the last 45 years, is the imposing achievement of the extraordinary efforts of our brave and industrious people under the party's brilliant leadership. This glorious jubilee makes this congress of the Democratic Front even more festive.

All the working masses are involved in the labor of production and construction in order to perform the tasks set by the Ninth Party Congress and the party Central Committee plenums for further strengthening the economy and increasing prosperity in the eighth 5-year period. The people understand the significance of what Comrade Ramiz Alia emphasized: "Without a strong economy, there can be no secure defense, no true freedom and independence, no increase in prosperity, and no development of education and culture." The judgment and political awareness of the people, their initiative and spirit of mass action, and their creative

strengths are preconditions for the socialist construction of the nation. This is the reason that the creative and innovative abilities of everybody are just as necessary as their efforts.

The entire people are active in the ranks of our Front organization. It provides the broadest social base for our people's state. From this stems the need for the Front to mobilize people and to promote the progress of the economy and the whole of society. Our task is to commit the organization more to explaining the targets of the state plans and to persuade people of the real possibility of fulfilling them. Let us turn to people with every important problem and organize fruitful discussion and stimulating encounters among them, arousing their militant and innovative spirit, encouraging all those who are most progressive, and spreading their good example. Advanced experience, as an embodiment of a high degree of awareness and of the rational organization and management of the labor, skill, and culture of our people, is a powerful factor that the Front organization must use more fully in order to achieve targets in all fields of the economy and the nation's life. All districts are making efforts to spread advanced experience, but the organizations of the Front in Tirana, Shkoder, Kukes, Elbasan, Gramsh, Gjirokastra, and Pogradec deserve special mention.

Our help must also be apparent in meeting an important demand for our development: in saving time in labor and economizing on social and personal resources. In all our work, let us further build on our people's tradition of thrift, adapting it to the demands of the age and the economic laws of development, with the aim of making thrift truly second nature to everybody, wherever they work. Special efforts are now required of our activists in this field, so that the question of thrift should not remain a vague slogan, but that people should consciously save working time and raw materials in order to boost productivity and production efficiency, and should practice good husbandry in the use of individual and family consumer products.

Relying on our own resources has been and remains a fundamental principle for the development of our society. The readiness of the masses to tackle the great problems of the age has its origin in a correct and profound understanding of this principle. It is a great victory of the epoch of the party, since the National Liberation War, that this principle has won the trust of the entire people, and has become fundamental to national and socialist awareness. It has become even stronger in the period between our two congresses, when for the first time major and complex economic plans with bold objectives were drafted and carried out relying solely on our own material, financial, and human resources, without any assistance or credit from abroad. This is one of the greatest economic and political victories of our epoch. Our people do not live under the threat

of creditors, but enjoy all the good things they have created from year to year, like a good householder who decorates his home and runs his family life as far as his labor and budget allow.

Socialism respects the dignity and personalities of people of labor, knowledge, and creativity. Through the great work of the party and its instruments, a new, socialist attitude toward labor and property has been created everywhere. Our people know that all the good things they enjoy come from work and only from work. They know that the present and future of the nation and of socialism, of our children and the generations that are to come, depend on our socialist property. The blood of thousands of martyrs in the National Liberation War, and the sweat and efforts of all our working people, lie at its foundation. Socialist property is an invaluable victory for our people and party, which every member of the Front must protect and cherish.

Our present tasks demand that labor and knowledge should be integrated into a whole. Labor becomes enriched by organizational, technical, and scientific factors that cannot fail to be considered at a time of many and various contemporary developments on the threshold of a new century. Every day presents us with increasing demands for a broader vision, and it becomes clearer that our development requires everybody's brain and brawn and the creative initiative of the masses. In socialist society, and especially at our country's present stage of economic and cultural development, the man of labor is no longer an unthinking mechanic. Science is no longer simply a matter for research workers and scientists in laboratories and institutes, but acquires life and meaning in production and in close cooperation with our working people, the overwhelming majority of whom have 8 years of schooling behind them, while several hundred thousand have also completed secondary education.

Our organization cannot sit back passively and leave other people to combat unacceptable attitudes toward labor and property. People's demands for ever-improving living standards are natural. However, it is not in the least natural that people should try to attain them by crooked means or at the expense of society. Our people have always despised cheats and thieves. Still less do they have a place in a socialist society like ours, which cannot allow irresponsible people to take what does not belong to them, or allow slacking off at work or unjustifiable attitudes toward property to open the door to petit bourgeois tendencies and antisocialist practices. It is on this front that we fight to protect what Comrade Enver Hoxha called "the two pillars of socialism," labor and property. There is no room here for hesitations and concessions, or for sentimentality and loss of control. Apathy has never been and is not now part of the nature of our new kind of man. Still less can we be indifferent when we see violations of the rules, bureaucratic delays, cronyism and interventions, failures to heed the voice of the masses, indiscipline, or misuse of our common property.

The problems of labor and property are vital to socialism. They therefore constitute a main field of the everyday work of the Front organization, so that people will come to realize that an attitude to labor and property is an integral aspect of their devotion to the cause of socialism.

Among us, everything is done by the people and in their interests. Prosperity is evident and finds its reflection in every aspect of our people's lives. Albania today has about 3,200,000 inhabitants, with an average age of 27, the youngest average age in Europe, and an average life expectancy of about 72 years.

Prosperity starts with work. The thorough development of the economy under socialism has given the people work for everybody, wherever the interests of the homeland and of comprehensive socioeconomic development require them. With the people's accession to power, the tradition of migrant labor, that terrible scourge of the past, has vanished once and for all, at a time when unemployment and emigration have become chronic world sicknesses that cause ordinary people to feel fear and insecurity for their future. Our Kosovar brothers and the other Albanians in Yugoslavia are once again experiencing the grief of parting and of homesickness for their land and homes, their mothers, wives, children, friends, and relatives. Compelled by serious economic difficulties, national oppression, and the violence and persecution of the proponents of Greater Serbia, they are forced to take to the road as migrant workers.

The employment of the entire people, especially for a country such as Albania that is marked by high population growth, demands a major commitment on the part of the economy. The party also pursues the wise policy of keeping the whole country populated, because it is in the interests of socialism that there should be no flight from the countryside; on the contrary, life in the countryside should flourish as it does in the towns, on the plains as it does in the mountains, in every remote part of the homeland. The constant attention of the party and state to the development of the country's northeastern region is connected with this policy. The Front organization has the task, as before, of instilling in young people a love for all professions and all kinds of work so that they will go wherever the homeland needs them, and of increasing its influence over parents or those who give themselves airs and hinder young people on their path of life.

The people's continually increasing prosperity has narrowed the gap between town and countryside. A range of measures have been taken and priority has been given to the countryside in many well-known ways. Following the successive joint mass actions of the workers class and the peasantry for full electrification, the construction of drivable roads, and the installation of telephones, a further highly important mass action is being carried out during the current 5-year period to supply adequate drinking water to every village and settlement. In the



decade since the Fifth Democratic Front Congress, women's maternity leave has been extended, wages have been increased for many categories of difficult work, and new measures have been taken and guidelines issued for cooperativists' pay, such as the decisions of the seventh plenum of the party Central Committee. Pensions have been introduced for cooperativists, and many cooperatives have been granting regular vacations in recent years.

In the sphere of agriculture, the party has drawn up a wise and farsighted policy, which aims at comprehensive agricultural development in the plains, the hills, and the mountains, in order to secure food for the people and to support industry. The implementation of this program has secured bread for the country, has created a whole network of food enterprises, and has led to the construction of many livestock complexes. The struggle being waged by our young people and the work they are carrying out to double olive production by 1990 has had a great economic and educational effect. Meanwhile, the countryside has in recent years witnessed the smooth development of two important initiatives, taken with the support of the party and the constant instruction of Comrade Ramiz Alia, to create small herds and small fields. Taken together, the small herds and fields, which have now become widespread among every brigade and in every agricultural cooperative, comprise a collective resource which has shouldered the responsibility of supplying brigade members with animal products, vegetables, beans, and potatoes. The districts of Korce, Lushnje, Fier, Permet, and Durres have been particularly outstanding in this field. Increased production from the brigades' small herds and fields, and the fulfillment of brigade members' needs will also enable cooperatives and agricultural enterprises to better supply the towns. Now that the great wheat harvesting and threshing campaign is at its height and we are involved in other agricultural tasks, the voluntary work and mobilization of everybody, whether town-dweller or countryman, must be improved to a new, higher standard.

The development of the countryside is complex and many-sided. It involves not only agricultural and livestock production, but improvements in living standards, and the extension of the retail, handicraft, and communal service networks. The Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives indicated new prospects for the exploitation of natural resources, and the gradual introduction of workshops in the countryside which will process agricultural and animal products. The examples of many villages in the districts of Diber, Skrapar, Sarande, and Lezhe show that this initiative is taking shape, although it is still in its early stages. The Front organization is actively involved in this initiative, using experienced activists who are familiar with our valuable traditions in processing animal products, fruit, and vegetables, in producing lime, bricks, and tiles, in woodworking, and so forth. The extension of the processing and craft industries to every village will help increase prosperity

not only by producing many new articles, but by creating new jobs, especially at times when agricultural work is less burdensome.

The development of industry, the mechanization of agriculture, and the introduction of new technologies, which are the principal ways of achieving higher levels of development and progress, are often accompanied in many countries of today's world by serious pollution of the environment, which harms and endangers people's lives. Even though we have no acute ecological problems, we should act more on the convictions and thinking of the entire people regarding the protection of the natural and social environment. This is directly linked with our care for people. It is therefore necessary for the organizations of the Front to actively participate in coordinating the work of state bodies and other mass organizations in the districts and at the base in order to enforce and ensure respect for regulations governing the protection of the environment; organize mass actions to combat erosion; make our environment more sanitary; maintain roads, water utilities, and cowsheds; cultivate and supplement woodland and green areas in towns, villages, town districts, and work places; ensure that we have clean air, adequate water, and pleasant shade everywhere; and protect and adorn our fertile and bountiful landscape everywhere.

Economic victories, like all other successes of our society, cheer our people, increase their optimism and trust in the future, and further forge their unity. It is the major task of the Democratic Front, by relying on the inexhaustible vitality of the people and their physical and intellectual energies, to become increasingly active in helping the party to fulfill and exceed the state's 5-year socioeconomic plans, to increase the people's prosperity, and to construct socialism.

### **3. The Democratic Front—An Active Helper of the Party in Educating a New Kind of Man**

In the process of the socioeconomic development of the country, the Democratic Front has played and continues to play an important role in creating a new kind of personality. Educated in the years of the people's power through the teachings of the party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha, and permeated with lofty communist ideals, our people are distinguished for their ardent patriotism and boundless loyalty to the party's Marxist-Leninist line, for their political militancy, and their spirit of self-sacrifice in the interests of the people and the homeland.

Their spiritual world has been freed from age-old prejudices, obsolete patriarchal values, and the enslaving rules of tribal law and religious superstition. Our new kind of man has the finest characteristics of our people, which the party and socialism have respected and enriched, such as courage, bravery, honor, honesty, sincerity, solidarity, hospitality, generosity, thirst for progress and



knowledge, and so forth. These qualities are a valuable heritage passed down through the generations and are factors that aid the inexorable emancipation of our people and of society.

The ideological and political education of the working masses has been and remains one of the most important tasks of the Democratic Front organization. This is made necessary not only by the great problems that our society is required to solve, but also by the ideological struggle that is being waged on an international scale between socialism and capitalism and between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. Let us also not forget that, in their daily struggle to strengthen the economy and culture, our people are under the pressure of vestiges of the old world that we overthrew, as well as of the world that surrounds us. If we encounter in our lives phenomena which are not of a socialist nature, this means that the educational work we do must be carried out to a higher standard, made more specific, and done with greater persuasive force.

The activities organized to publicize various historical events and anniversaries that keep ablaze our national pride and instill a spirit of socialist patriotism also help in the patriotic, class, and revolutionary education of the masses. Connecting these activities with work to affirm new values is an important goal of our organization. Many diverse activities are organized in this sphere, such as the commemoration of notable national or regional events in towns and villages, the anniversaries of the formation of enterprises or cooperatives, and national and family festivals. The value placed on these celebrations and their mass character means that the honor paid to heroes, martyrs, those who wage war and were in the van of the revolution, respected working people, and innovators and rationalizers in production, produces a powerful sense of mobilization, inspiration, and unity. The celebration of different events in the family circle, such as when a son goes into the Army, when a baby is born, when a child starts school, when a member of the family is admitted to the party, or when a veteran receives his pension, are a source of joy and optimism.

The Democratic Front must strive to further develop the fine traditions that are being established in this field. The organization has a special duty to young people in inspiring them with the outstanding patriotic and progressive traditions of our people in defending and further advancing the victories of the socialist revolution. This means that we should not be content with old-fashioned working methods, but should find the most interesting and varied ways of organizing our work thoughtfully and imaginatively, using all the means at our disposal for this purpose. It is important that people of different sorts should be involved in these activities and for them to play an ever greater role in communist education, so that the flames of patriotism and revolutionary idealism will continue to blaze.

The Democratic Front has always been one of the most outstanding fighters for the education of the masses in a spirit of general progress. Let us recall the great movement for the emancipation of Albanian women, that great fire that was lit by the call of the party to liberate women from the fetters of the barbarous rules of tribal and Islamic law. However, this does not mean that all patriarchal, conservative, and religious vestiges have vanished. We must develop and build on the great experience gained by our organization during its public discussions and revolutionary mass actions in the struggle against backward customs, affirming new values and consolidating socialist social psychology, thus keeping alight the flame of struggle against every obsolete vestige and alien phenomenon, and influencing public opinion against them.

Our new kind of family plays a major and indispensable role in the education of our new type of man, and has an increasingly important function in our society. The family has striven honorably in inculcating its members with feelings of love for the homeland, the party, and socialism, and has cultivated all the splendid qualities and virtues that have characterized the Albanian people through the centuries. The complex of family relationships of all kinds has progressed in accordance with our general social development. As a result, we now have healthy and stable families, in which the members are equal and live in harmony and according to new socialist values. Nevertheless, there are still problems that require greater care and attention on the part of the Democratic Front. The present composition of our families and their high educational level mean that signs of patriarchalism among their members, reversions to the days when husbands kept the upper hand and wives were subjected to them, mismanagement of income, and the practice of backward customs on occasions of joy or sorrow are alien to our family life. The Front organization and its activists are carrying out praiseworthy and sensible work in promoting the unity of the family, harmony among its members, and in further strengthening the mission of the family as the basic unit of society.

Living standards in the family call for greater attention on the part of our organization, so that they can be continually developed and improved, particularly in the countryside. The great changes that have taken place must on no account make us complacent. The projects that have been undertaken in Mirdite, Mat, Librazhd, Puke, and other districts must continue, because there are still problems calling for solution in connection with hygiene and cleanliness, cooking and nutrition, especially for children, and in furnishing houses properly. In the future, particular care must be devoted to easing women's burden of household chores by involving other members of the family in them. This burden must especially be made lighter for working and cooperativist women. Solutions to certain problems, such as those of securing drinking water, extending the retail and communal services network, and increasing cooperativists'

self-sufficiency, with the aim of achieving a more cultured way of life with easier work for women, must also be found in other spheres of social activity. Various revolutionary movements, such as exchange visits between south and north, north and south, and town and countryside can be used better for this purpose, alongside specific help in solving many social and cultural problems, thus awakening and developing feelings of solidarity and friendship, bringing people together, and giving fresh strength to the community of socialist interests. The organization of the Democratic Front will confront this range of projects with better cooperation with other social organizations, especially those of women and young people, and through national mass actions.

Throughout the centuries, the Albanian people, though lacking schools and universities, have had a reputation for honesty, dignity, and cultivated manners. They have cultivated these qualities even more in the epoch of the party, because they are living under new circumstances and conditions. Therefore, the long line of educational problems whose solutions call for greater consideration includes certain social phenomena that are irreconcilable with the elevated moral and political character of our people and which, in one way or another, hamper our social emancipation and progress. Civic education is not acquired only at school, and manners cannot be measured only by one's level of education and qualification. These things call for continual and systematic political and educational work if the demands of our socialist society are to be met.

The work of our organization for civic education must therefore be developed still further, in order to enforce everywhere the rules of good manners, the values of socialist life, and mutual respect among people. Our organization can in particular do more for cultivated behavior in large industrial centers and sites, where people from very different backgrounds are often brought together.

It is the task of the Democratic Front to cultivate moral, political, and humane values among our people. These are not a form of decoration, but key instruments in effective and lasting moral and political education. The Front organization should always oppose phenomena that conflict with communist morality. Antisocialist phenomena should always be the subject of militant discussion among different categories of working people, acting on the party's slogan, "Let us think, live, and work like revolutionaries."

When we talk about our new kind of man, we also think about his level of cultural and scientific education and the broad social motives that inspire and guide him in life. During the years of the people's power, under the continual care of the party and Comrade Enver, our people's dreams of knowledge and enlightenment have come true. Schools of all kinds and many sociocultural institutions have been opened throughout the country. A

great variety of modern media such as the press, books, radio, television, film, theater, houses and hearths of culture, libraries, and museums have served the culture of the people. They play a major role in the cultural upbringing of the younger generations, and socialist culture has itself become a major and active force for the progress of the homeland.

Our country is undergoing a fast rate of development in industry, agriculture, education, and culture. Quantitative and qualitative growth is now called for in every sphere of social activity, and this cannot be achieved without raising the standards of our people's knowledge and awareness, without mastering modern technology and becoming aware of the achievements of science in every field. Workers, cooperativists, and all the working people have the opportunity to put the culture they acquire at school and in life more to the service of the people and social progress.

It is up to the Democratic Front to keep alive and promote the splendid traditions of our people, their artistic sensibility, and their love of beauty which is expressed in embroidery and costume, in the interiors and exteriors of their houses, in wood- and stone-carving, in flower and vegetable gardens, in village wellheads, and so forth.

The Democratic Front must take the lead in mass actions to create cultured amenities everywhere, in villages, at work, and in town districts, with clean and well-maintained streets, green parks, and leisure and sports facilities.

The tasks we now have in various fields of ideopolitical and economic activity demand the more active participation of people of culture in the Front's activities. The intelligentsia are a branch of the Democratic Front with extensive and positive influence. In the war, honest intellectuals were closely tied to the Front, and spared nothing for the freedom of the homeland. Immediately after the liberation, at the call of the party, they shouldered the task of building the country and creating our new, emancipated society.

People of culture have earned respect and gratitude for their commitment to the nation's great concerns. Our new intelligentsia had the good fortune to be fostered and nurtured in the bosom of the people, with the close care of the party and of their own friend, Comrade Enver Hoxha. In the years of socialism, the intelligentsia assumed the status of a social stratum for the first time.

It is precisely the intelligentsia's intellectual and cultural potential that makes necessary their greater commitment to the work of the Democratic Front as promoters of knowledge and culture, agitators for the party line, and conscious fighters for progressive socialist values. Research into valuable traditions and their revival, improvements in museums, the faithful transmission through the generations of the virtues of the people, the

protection of monuments, improvements in culture and quality in production, and the spread of scientific knowledge in various fields such as health and agriculture are some of the specific objectives of intellectual work in production, science, education, culture, literature, and the arts. This broad involvement will also help to further enliven and revolutionize the work of the Front organization itself.

In all our achievements and in the tasks set by the party, the Democratic Front remembers the major contribution and militant, communist work of its tens of thousands of activists. With the words of the party on their lips day and night, in their families and apartment blocks, in their towns and villages, in meetings and in informal conversation, they work enthusiastically and tirelessly for people's education and reeducation and their mobilization to perform their tasks. Therefore, dear comrades, we extend our deepest gratitude to the Front's activists from the platform of this congress for the unstinted help they give within the bosom of the Front organization. We are convinced that their social activity and their communist work for the well-being and happiness of our people will achieve ever higher standards.

#### **4. The Democratic Front—A Great Tribune of the Voice of the Masses**

The Democratic Front is the broadest socio-political organization. The party's high esteem for the Front and the latter's struggle for freedom, independence, and the construction of socialism have caused our organization to enjoy the affection and respect of all of the people.

The construction of socialism is a deed of the masses and is conditioned by their participation. Through their varied activity, the Democratic Front organizations have contributed to raising the spirit of initiative and revolutionary action of the masses, attracting them to participate in the discussion of problems, and to finding solutions to the great political, ideological, economic, and social, educational, and cultural questions. The Democratic Front is a great tribune of the voice of the masses in exercising their democracy.

To ensure the broad and active participation of the masses in the country's administration and in resolving the problems of socialist construction, our party has followed the road of close and constant consultation with the masses. The party has always spoken openly with the people, has shared their troubles and has consulted them, has informed them about the difficulties and obstacles and, with the people, it has turned night into day to overcome them. This has further strengthened the mutual confidence between the party and the people, has further raised the creative initiative of the masses and their participation in facing up to the tasks, and has made our socialist democracy more efficient. The aim of the Democratic Front is to further promote, deepen, and

enrich the experience gained in its work with the masses, to better attract their opinion and voice, and to secure the support of the people in everything.

Throughout our activity we must take well into account the line of the masses. The slogan "Socialism is built by the masses; the party makes them conscious" has by now become a synecdochic reflection of our daily work. The growing participation of the masses in resolving the problems cropping up in our constantly developing socialist life requires us to struggle resolutely against bureaucratic concepts that fixate upon orders, fail to mobilize the masses, and fail to lead them into broad actions to fulfill the tasks.

This is inseparable from a broader understanding of the initiative of the masses because this is sometimes narrowed down to organizing some actions, constructing some things through voluntary labor, improving the way of life, and so forth. The main point here is that we should constantly stimulate the creative thinking of the masses, constantly raising their interest in all aspects of socialist construction, administration, and the country's defense. This will further expand socialist democracy and the role of the masses in the country's administration to ensure increased social production, the perfecting of economic relations, the improvement of management practices, and so forth. It is therefore essential to have more discussions and debates about political, economic, social, and ideological problems pertaining to our socialist construction throughout the activity of the Democratic Front.

The fact that at meetings of the Front people express their thoughts freely and responsibly and that they resolutely criticize whatever alien manifestations are observed is an important achievement in implementing the party's line. The question is to further consolidate this achievement, to ensure that the free expression of ideas becomes a matter of education and an indivisible part of the thought and activity of people at work, in life, and everywhere.

In this respect, there is room for more careful work on our part in order to create everywhere a sound social climate in which people can boldly express what they feel and think, make suggestions, and criticize in the interest of society. The Front organization must not only not tolerate, but must in fact adopt a stringent position against all those state organs and bodies that fail to listen to the voice of the masses, underrate their ideas, and trample upon socialist democracy through their bureaucratic attitudes. By more resolutely opposing manifestations of indifference and the underrating of ideas, suggestions, and demands made by people, let us give them answers to the problems that they may raise and let us struggle to meet those demands that are just and can be implemented.



Our socialist socio-economic reality and our Marxist-Leninist ideology create a genuine climate for free development of the thinking of people, and their criticism of all problems of our social and political life. However, concepts of "ideological and political pluralism," which presuppose the existence and development of alien ideologies and anti-socialist views, and which are loudly proclaimed by the modern revisionists, are totally alien to us. We are for fiery debates and mature discussion, which even permit and presuppose opposite ideas to confront each other in order to approach the objective truth, the Marxist-Leninist law and principle.

The improvement of the activity carried out by the Front to exercise control by the masses is one of the major aspects of the development of socialist democracy. Comrade Enver has stressed that control by the people united in the Democratic Front constitutes the broadest possible form of control. Control by the masses represents a sharp weapon in the struggle against all alien, bureaucratic, and liberal manifestations and is a very efficient form of educating the working people and cadres. However, its horizons are further widened and more suitable conditions are created when the masses are constantly informed about the activity of various state and social organs, institutions, and other bodies; it becomes more efficient when closed forms of the work of apparatuses are opposed, when public notice of their activity is given, when the masses are closely informed about the mechanisms of our social life and the laws of the state, and when the accountability of those elected to the state organs before the masses takes place in an organized and informal manner.

The problems of state authority are problems concerning all of the people, and it is therefore necessary to further raise the efforts of the Democratic Front to increase the participation of the masses in resolving these problems. Our people are fully convinced that only by preserving and strengthening the people's power can they enjoy and exercise genuine democracy and that the latter's development, on the other hand, is the main factor in strengthening the state and the entire socialist order. The Democratic Front is required to continue to make its contribution toward the constant strengthening of the people's power and the development of our socialist democracy, as well as to most effectively realize the rights and duties that the people in our socialist society really enjoy and have.

The party has always drawn attention to the growing role of the representative organs elected by the people, which directly reflect their will. Everyone's right to elect and to be elected in all organs of the state power is a clear reflection of our socialist democracy. This is neither a privilege nor a formal act. Those who are elected to the state organs are faced with great tasks requiring dedication and the ability to justify the trust of the people. They must therefore be constantly under strict control by the

electorate, whose right it is to demand from the representative organs and all their members the consistent implementation of all the authority granted to them.

In our country, socialist democracy is genuine democracy in action. Socialism has given our people freedoms and rights that cannot be compared with capitalism, has given them a free and independent life, has created genuine social equality, has given the national minorities rights equal to those enjoyed by all other citizens, has opened up broad avenues to the development of education, culture, the arts, and science in the service of the broad popular masses, has emancipated people from the spiritual shackles of the old ideologies, has equipped them with lofty ideals, and has made their life worthy of living.

A lot of noise is being made today about the freedoms and rights of man. In fact, the bourgeoisie and the revisionists have launched an entire campaign against socialism, striving to present themselves as standard bearers and defenders of the freedom and rights of people. However, there is no genuine democracy where capital rules, nor freedom and security of life, because the workers there are divested of the ownership of the means of production, are subjected to exploitation, and are separated from participation in government through an insuperable bureaucratic wall. In those countries there are tens of millions of unemployed, while drugs, crime, loose living, and degeneration have become normal manifestations and a severe wound for young people and the entire society. The banner of the freedoms and rights of man is the banner of socialism, not that of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, which trample these freedoms and rights underfoot. Only the socialist society contains all the possibilities and the material, juridical, and spiritual guarantees for the development of freedom and the comprehensive development of each individual personality. This is best proved by our socialist society which has really placed our working people on a pedestal.

The profound guarantee of the rule of the people, of the popular nature of the state power, of genuine democracy for the broad masses, and of the real rights of the broad working masses lies in the indivisible leadership of the party, the vanguard of the workers class, and in our socialist society. Our experience rejects the falsity of the revisionist theories and practices which link the development of democracy with the existence of a number of parties and the elimination of the guiding role of the party of the workers class. As is shown by the latest events in a number of countries where the revisionists are in power, as in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, the political confusion and the clashes between various groups, particularly ethnic groups, are an inevitable consequence of the betrayal of Marxist-Leninist principles.

The historic experience of socialism has proved conclusively that only the dictatorship of the proletariat guarantees the broadest democracy for the people and that



the leadership role of the party of the workers class is a guarantee for the effective implementation of socialist democracy.

#### **5. The Democratic Front Supports the Party's Foreign Policy Unreservedly**

Comrades:

Our problems, tasks, and the prospects of our progress are also closely linked with the world situation and the international developments around us and with the events, conflicts, and contradictions of our time. The life of each particular country is influenced by these events in one way or another, and to one degree or another. Therefore, what is happening in a particular country, be it near us or far removed from us, also exerts its influence in our country.

It is from this truth that Comrade Enver proceeded when he instructed the Democratic Front organizations to live with the situations that are created in the world in order to meet them head on and to use them better in the interest of defending the freedom and independence of our country and our socialist victories.

The international situation is currently characterized by a strong race between the superpowers and the large imperialist groupings to occupy strong political and economic positions in order to ensure their hegemony and domination in the world. The propaganda apparatus of the imperialist powers is carrying out a comprehensive demagogic and misleading campaign about the reduction of tension, which has supposedly taken place as a result of the changed policies of the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, of the rapprochement and understanding between them. They are pretending that we are supposedly confronted with a "historic" turning point and that opportunities have been created for a general reconciliation between the opposing great powers in favor of international security and for the good of the peoples.

In this troubled situation, the peoples have had to more strongly join their efforts to defend their national freedom and independence, to oppose imperialism and all social oppression, to avoid wars, and to strengthen peace.

The peoples who have suffered and those who continue to suffer from oppression and bloody conflicts are vigilantly following the present development of the international situation and the machinations of the two imperialist superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. They do not nurture illusions and do not expect the big powers to regulate their life and their future. On the contrary, they are struggling to escape their political, economic, and military vise.

The Democratic Front of Albania has always supported and continues to unreservedly support the foreign policy of the Albanian Workers Party and of our state, because it defends the lofty patriotic, revolutionary, and progressive interests of the Albanian people, because it reflects their peaceful aims and their desire for understanding and cooperation between the peoples. The primary and major objective of this policy has been and remains to guarantee our sovereignty and national freedom, to secure our political and economic independence, and to defend our victories. To expose and resolutely oppose the hegemonistic and expansionist policy of the imperialist powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, has also always been one of the major components of this policy. From its inception until the present, regardless of the situation, Socialist Albania has never wavered in its support of the just struggle of other peoples for national and social liberation, or its internationalist solidarity with those forces that are fighting for socialism.

The principled, just, and clear-cut position toward international questions and events have raised our country's prestige throughout the world, have made it possible for its name to enjoy the sympathy of freedom-loving peoples, and for its voice to be listened to respectfully. We all rejoice that the number of the friends and well-wishers of Albania in the world is constantly growing. In the name of the Albanian people, the Democratic Front thanks all those friends and well-wishers, wherever they may be, for their consideration and friendship, their interest, and their support.

Our organization and all its members resolutely support the policy of good-neighborliness pursued by our party and state with the neighboring countries and their efforts to strengthen the spirit of trust and understanding and to increase cooperation in the mutual interest in all fields in which this is possible.

The policy of socialist Albania toward the neighboring countries has always been an open and sincere policy. Its attitude and activities toward those countries have always been correct and well-intentioned. It has always proceeded from the desire and belief that relations between the Balkan countries can, and must be, freed from all of those factors of feuds and divisions inherited from the past and incited by foreign powers for egotistical motives and by all of those reactionary forces that do not wish the Balkans well.

As far as our people are concerned, good-neighborliness has never been a mere geographical notion. Our people have always understood it as an objective relationship of common interests and obligations to preserve the freedom and independence of our peoples, to strengthen their sovereignty, to prevent interference by foreign powers, and to preserve mutual respect for the historic legacy of their original cultures. A proper and thorough

understanding of this relationship would contribute a great deal to overcoming numerous obstacles that are still in the way of establishing fruitful inter-Balkan cooperation.

Our organization and all its members rejoice at the positive developments observed in the relations between Albania and other Balkan countries, which have become an obvious factor in improving the general political atmosphere in this region, in consolidating its stability, and in creating new opportunities for even greater and more fruitful cooperation for all concerned.

Our country has strived to establish an atmosphere of genuine good-neighborliness in its relations with Yugoslavia as well. However, this has not been achieved and the blame for this does not lie with Albania. A policy continues to be pursued in Yugoslavia toward our country, which, to say the least, is not at all constructive and is contrary to the interests of our peoples and the principles of good-neighborliness. Loud anti-Albania propaganda assuming markedly hostile undertones has gained even greater momentum, particularly in recent times, in connection with the events in Kosovo.

The Democratic Front of Albania resolutely rejects the accusations being made against our country about alleged interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, and the insinuations that it is allegedly in favor of its destabilization and destruction.

All the world knows, and this also applies to Yugoslavia itself, that Albania does not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, in any sector or on any question. It maintains this attitude not only toward Yugoslavia, but also toward all other countries. Noninterference is Albania's principle and a practice in its international relations.

However, if there are still people in Yugoslavia who believe that by accusing us of interference and territorial claims that we have never made, of inciting intranational conflicts, and so forth we will lower our voice in defense of the legitimate rights of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, they are grossly mistaken.

The violence perpetrated for a long time now against the Albanians in Kosovo and parts of Yugoslavia, the murder of innocent people, the imprisonment of thousands of young people, the great poverty and misery, the mass persecutions and inhuman discrimination are indeed causing us a great deal of grief and affect all Albanians, wherever they may be.

Therefore, our organization cannot fail to express once again in this Congress, its anger about and its protests against all of those chauvinistic acts perpetrated against the Albanians in Yugoslavia, all of the injustices perpetrated against them, and all of the violence and oppression against them.

The Albanians living in Yugoslavia ask for no mercy from anyone. What they are demanding are the rights that they won in their national liberation struggle, which are now being denied to them; they demand the right to preserve and develop their language and culture, their historical traditions, and their way of life. The recognition and practical application of these rights would be for the general good, not only for the good of the Albanians, but also for all of the other peoples in Yugoslavia. This would also be in the interest of peace and security in the Balkans and beyond.

Our organization, the Democratic Front, and all its members will continue in the future, as it has in the past, to be guided by the party and by its line and its teachings and will work tirelessly to successfully carry out the tasks incumbent on them in the practical implementation of our state's foreign policy. Our organization proceeds from the long and tested 45-year experience that this principled, consistent, peace-loving, and revolutionary policy represents one of the basic contributions to consolidating the new Albania, to strengthening its international positions, and to aligning this country with the most progressive in the world.

In the same way that we were joined together, and always in complete unity in the struggle to win freedom and to build socialism, we remain today and will continue to remain in the future, united in defending them against all enemies, wherever they may come from and in no matter what form. In the same way that we will stretch out our hand in sincere friendship to all those who may accept it, we will also know how to cope with the pressure and intrigues of those who do not wish us well; in the same way that we will continue to cooperate with goodwill with all those who respect the principles of equality and noninterference, we will know how to reject the flattery of those who aim to divert us from our correct road.

The foreign policy of our party and state has been and remains open, independent, and conscious of its place and responsibility in the international community. This policy has always enjoyed and will continue to enjoy the total support of all the Albanian people.

Comrade delegates:

We are all happy and proud that in this world of troubles created by imperialism, modern revisionism, and other reactionary forces, Socialist Albania lives and progresses calmly and confidently, becomes constantly stronger and more prosperous through the mind and strength of our brave and industrious people led wisely and farsightedly by our glorious party.

In our beloved country, the people and the party, united as always like a fist, will consolidate and further the victories attained, conscious and determined to leave to the present and future generations "an Albania that is

always increasingly stronger, always red like the immortal flame of the communist and partisan hearts and ideals, an Albania that will live and progress throughout the centuries."

This was also Enver's last wish and this was the vow made before him, in the name of the party and the people, by Enver's close comrade and collaborator, our beloved leader, Comrade Ramiz Alia.

Let us turn our Sixth Congress into a great manifestation of the moral and political unity of our people, of the determination and militant readiness to always march on the correct Marxist-Leninist road of our party. Let us

bring here the experience and progressive thinking in production, in all fields of scientific and cultural activity, and in all of our social activity. Let us undertake new tasks and make new pledges to make the great festivities of the 45th anniversary of the liberation and of the victory of the people's revolution more beautiful and joyful.

Long live our brave, industrious, and revolutionary people!

Long live the Democratic Front of Albania!

Long live our glorious party and its Central Committee led by Comrade Ramiz Alia!

**Zhivkov Greets RSA Party Leader on Election**  
*AU0307123689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO*  
*in Bulgarian 1 Jul 89 p 1*

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] has sent the following message to Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party.

Esteemed Comrade Slovo,

On behalf of the BCP Central Committee, all Bulgarian Communists, and on my personal behalf please accept most cordial greetings on your election as general secretary of the South African Communist Party.

We wish that you will work successfully for increasing the role and influence of the South African Communist Party in further developing the struggle for eradicating racism and apartheid and constructing a democratic society in the Republic of South Africa.

**Dzhagarov Meets With Syrian Vice President**  
*AU0607124189 Sofia BTA in English*  
*1229 GMT 6 Jul 89*

[Text] Sofia, July 7 (BTA)—Syria's vice president Mr 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam, paid a brief visit to this country. At the Sofia airport he was met by Mr Georgi Dzhagarov, vice president of the State Council, and by responsible officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They held friendly talks on questions of the further broadening of the bilateral cooperation.

**Turkish Harassment of Bulgarian Muslims Alleged**  
*AU0607122789 Sofia OTECHSTVEN FRONT*  
*in Bulgarian 5 Jul 89 pp 1, 3*

[Zlatka Mikhaylov report: "Mistreating and Humiliating Our Compatriots"]

[Text] Kapitan Andreevo, 4 July—Yesterday four of our compatriots crossed the border and stepped with relief onto Bulgarian soil. They had headed for Turkey from different villages and on different dates, but they all met at the investigation center in Edirne, where they spent torturing days in detention.

Nikolay Davidov, construction worker from Tolbukhin, had crossed the Malko Turnovo checkpoint a few days ago. He wanted to see a friend in Bakirkoy near Istanbul. He visited for a while, and decided to plaster two rooms in an attempt to reimburse his host for his expenditures.

Asen Ivanov, manager of a gourmet shop in Silistra, a father of three children, flew to Turkey. When he arrived in Istanbul, officials at the airport were amazed that he had arrived as a tourist. His most valuable belongings

disappeared during the night. He saw the poverty of the Turkish village, without water or paved streets, and after one week, he bought a train ticket for Sofia.

The inseparable cousins Sevdalin Zakhariyev and Niko Aldemirov—mechanical equipment operators from Semerdzhievo Village, near Ruse, headed for Turkey in their Lada car. At Kupukule they were greeted with the following question: So many people are coming with all their belongings, why are you only visiting? They visited Luleburgaz, Bursa, and Istanbul. Niko's sister-in-law was their host. They bought presents, and headed back, which turned out to be a complicated venture.

The Turkish clerk nervously slammed their passports on the desk and said: If you want to return to Bulgaria, you, infidels, are hiding something. They were arrested. Blows followed the interrogation, and all this in the presence of the sister-in-law and the crying children, who came to see them off at the border. Nikolay Davidov was treated in the same manner. He was locked in a cell with another Bulgarian citizen from Tolbukhin, whose wife and children were in another cell.

The Turks considered Asen Ivanov—a big powerful man—to be most dangerous. They blindfolded him, beat him with a stick, slammed him against the wall, and hit him in the stomach. Humiliating orders—sit, get up, bend down—were directed at him.

Our compatriots did not surrender to the threats and provocations. They divided their food, and encouraged each other: We have foreign travel passports, we demand to get in touch with our embassy, we want to return to Bulgaria.

Niko's sister-in-law was forced to pay one and a half million Turkish liras for the release of her relatives, and afterwards slipped her golden bracelet into the pocket of a big boss.

When the brothers-in-fate finally crossed the border they could not believe that they were back in the motherland. It is easy to enter Turkey, but very difficult to leave it, they said.

Bulgaria opened its borders to the world. This is already known also by the children. However, will the Republic of Turkey allow all those Bulgarian citizens who wish to do so, to return, if they so desire? Have all Islamized Bulgarians in the tent-camps made their final choice? The experience of our four compatriots evokes doubt as to whether the choice is voluntary and free.



**AKEL Politburo Member Denounces Turkish Policy**  
*AU0607163789 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT*  
*in Bulgarian 5 Jul 89 p 2*

[Interview with Dhonis Khristofinis, member of the AKEL Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary, by unnamed OTECHESTVEN FRONT reporter: "The Transparent Card of National Chauvinism"—date, place not given]

[Text] The results of 15 years of Turkish occupation in the Northern part of Cyprus, produces a desolate political situation, including 200,000 deported Greek Cypriots, thousands of people who have disappeared without leaving a trace, or are detained in Turkish prisons. A new outbreak of pan-Turkish chauvinism involving intentions related to Bulgarian Muslims, was recently added to this picture.

Dhonis Khristofinis, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Restorative Party of the Working People [AKEL] in Cyprus and secretary of the Central Committee, gave an interview to OTECHESTVEN FRONT, in which he pointedly remarked: "Are there any international laws, or moral standards authorizing Turkey to resettle people in foreign territories it has occupied?"

[OTECHESTVEN FRONT] Mr Khristofinis, how do you evaluate Rauf Denktas's statement about the settlement of Bulgarian Muslims in the area of Northern Cyprus, which was factually occupied in 1974?

[Khristofinis] This statement made by Denktas is in full accordance with the aggressive policy of the present Turkish Government. It is a fact, however, that this statement was denounced even by the leadership of the anti-Denktas opposition, headed by Ozer Ozgur. As to the specific problem of Famagusta, we should recall that in 1984 the UN Security Council adopted a resolution on returning this town to Cyprus. I would like to ask a question: Do you know any international laws, or any moral code authorizing Turkey to resettle people on a foreign territory it has occupied? Let us take the case of the settlers from Anatolia who were resettled in the occupied territory following the Turkish aggression in 1974. What was the result of all this? We can find an answer to this question in one of the most recent issues of the newspaper MILLIYET which published an article entitled: "Turkish Settlers in Cyprus Are Treated Like Aliens." The fact that 1,000 Turks were resettled in one of the Cypriot villages which was formerly inhabited by 1,700 Greek Cypriots, speaks for itself. Everyone should be aware of the fact that the concern about the settlers manifested by the political regime in Ankara and by the Denktas Government is nothing but a trump card which they are playing in for the sake of definite political goals.

[OTECHESTVEN FRONT] Along with the propaganda campaign against Bulgaria, an other campaign related to the alleged "minority problem in northeastern Greece"

is being currently fanned in Turkey. A Turkish Government spokesman said: "The question of the Turkish minority has always been a bone of contention in our relations with Greece."

[Khristofinis] The gross interference of Turkish radio and television, as well as on part of certain Turkish diplomats in the Greek election campaign, aimed at supporting the candidacy of certain Greek Muslims is notorious. Such actions are also included in the plans to use Muslim minorities for the expansion of pan-Turkism. National chauvinism is a dangerous disease which badly affected numerous Cypriot Muslims who were deceptively persuaded to resettle in Turkey in 1950.

[OTECHESTVEN FRONT] Can any connection be established between the defeat of Turgut Ozal's ruling Motherland Party during the local elections in March 1989 and the aggressively nationalist policy of the present Turkish Government?

[Khristofinis] This is positively true. Ozal's second term of office is marked by an unprecedented economic and financial inflation. Freedom of press and trade union rights are subjected to repression. Political leaders are persecuted and imprisoned. The possibility of holding elections ahead of schedule is discussed. The present government and the ruling Motherland Party see their only chance of staying in power and diverting attention from the country's socioeconomic problems in fanning campaigns about Turkish minorities.

**Editorial Urges Citizens To Observe Law, Order**  
*AU0607133089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO*  
*in Bulgarian 5 Jul 89 p 1*

[Editorial: "Socialist Laws Should Be Applied With All Their Force and Strictness"]

[Excerpts] It is hardly necessary to prove the correctness of the requirement for strict observance of law and order today. The observance of laws and their provisions and compliance with the rules of social behavior and socialist ethics are decisive prerequisites for the comprehensive progress of the revolutionary process of renewal in our country.

All this sounds even more topical today, considering the urgent economic tasks as a whole, and those related to agriculture in particular. It also sounds even more topical in connection with the current difficulties, resulting from gross violations of labor discipline, which frequently occurred in several areas of our country over the last month and were committed by citizens, who, having decided to leave for our neighboring country, Turkey, deliberately released themselves from the obligations imposed by their labor contracts. [passage omitted]

Can we allow this situation to continue?

It is evidently high time to apply the laws of the country as strictly as possible and to assert the strength and authority of state power. Those who do not comply with the laws of our socialist state, who encroach upon public order, who are not willing to get involved in active production work, but are ready to consume the material assets created by the people, should be unmistakably reminded of the fact that this is a wrong approach, that they should come down to earth and accept the sober reality of normal labor relations, that they should pursue their usual activities in their working places. The fact that one may go abroad within a few weeks, or within a month, is by no means a reason or a justification for violating existing laws and official regulations. [passage omitted]

Along with this, we should stress that the state organs will protect socialist legislation and public order in our country with all of the methods and means available to them. This is in the interest of all citizens, in the interest of socialism, and in the interest of our people's future. We are all equal before the law. No one is entitled to tolerate manifestations directed against the interests of socialist Bulgaria and of our social system in any form whatsoever. No one has the right to be lenient toward those who are trying to take advantage of the current psychosis which has affected part of our population in order to commit subversive actions, or even to pursue criminal goals or engage in dishonest business deals. This is required by the supreme interests of the state and by the restructuring process in our country.

The state organs in our country have demonstrated that it is possible for them to guarantee strict public order and discipline and a normal and peaceful atmosphere for all Bulgarian citizens. All efforts aimed at disrupting public order should be nipped in the bud and all subversive elements and profiteers should be unmasked. The strict observance of socialist legislation in our country should be under control. Everyone should be aware of these facts.

Our socialist government should demonstrate its strength and legal power in all Bulgarian villages, towns, and municipalities. Strict law and order and strict labor and civic discipline are called for in all places. The activities of party organizations should be intensified and their vigilance should be increased. This applies to every working place and every residential district.

The Bulgarian people are confidently advancing along the path of their historical development. The current, temporary difficulties will pass. The majority of people affected by the psychosis of travelling abroad will soon understand what they have lost by making this decision. The socialist renewal of our homeland is being accomplished for the benefit of all our citizens and is implemented with the efforts, the willpower, and the consciousness of each of them. [passage omitted]

**Ovcharov, PPR's Gajek Sign Cooperation Accord**  
*AU0607190289 Sofia BTA in English*  
1841 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Sofia, July 6 (BTA)—The document which Mr Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of the economy and planning of Bulgaria, and Mr Franciszek Gajek, minister and head of Poland's Central Planning Agency, signed here today outlines the main areas for the further promotion of bilateral techno-scientific cooperation, joint industrial production, specialisation and commercial exchanges in the 1991-1995 period.

The interaction will be expanded and furthered both in the traditional fields of cooperation (materials-handling engineering, road construction machine building and ship-building) and in the new areas (electronics and electrical engineering, biotechnology, the chemical and the pharmaceutical industry). The two countries will be vigorously promoting their trade on the basis of the new forms of business partnership.

The Polish minister told a BTA reporter that there are favourable opportunities for the further integration between the national economies in various fields. He stressed the need for joint investment, for the creation of conditions to expand the direct organisational and financial contacts between companies and enterprises. "These relations," Mr Franciszek Gajek said, "will take the intensification and integration of bilateral cooperation into a fundamentally new stage."

**Industry Cooperation Protocol Signed With PRC**  
*AU0307185689 Sofia BTA in English*  
1741 GMT 3 Jul 89

[Text] Sofia, July 3 (BTA)—Bulgaria and China will expand their light industry cooperation by diversifying their interaction with new forms. There are plans to build joint enterprises in both countries to manufacture consumer goods. An agreement on this was reached at the talks between delegations of the Bulgarian Consumer Goods Industry Association and the Chinese Ministry of the Light Industry.

It was agreed to establish here a joint enterprise making toys, electronic ones included, as well as sports goods and leisurewear. Another joint enterprise will produce electric household appliances.

The protocol on cooperation was signed by Mrs Elena Zlateva, president of the Consumer Goods Industry Association, and by Mr Zeng Xianlin, minister of light industry of China.

**Kubadinski Interviewed on New Social Structures**  
*AU0407100289 Sofia OTECHSTVEN FRONT*  
*in Bulgarian 30 Jun 89 pp 1, 2*

[Interview with Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, by unidentified OTECHSTVEN FRONT correspondent: "Genuine Expression of the People's Power"—date, place not given]

[Text] [OTECHESTVEN FRONT] Comrade Kubadinski, the establishment of the committees of political and social forces has already evoked great response all over the country. Could you describe the reasons for the emergence of these new social structures?

[Kubadinski] The restructuring process in our society in which we are engaged on the basis of the concept adopted by the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee July Plenum, and in connection with the further democratization of our political system, is aimed at a clearly defined goal, namely, the transfer from power in the people's name to power exercised by the people.

It is in this context that Comrade Todor Zhivkov's idea which he submitted to the BCP Central Committee December Plenum (1988) and aimed at establishing voluntary committees of political and social forces attached to the Fatherland Front on a central and local scale and composed of members from the BCP, the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS], the social organizations and movements, the creative-professional organizations, and other voluntary organizations, and which includes the possibility of some informal associations joining the committees, plays an important role.

This will introduce a new element in the further radical reorganization and drastic change in the functions, activities, style and method of work of the Fatherland Front and of all social organizations and movements. The purpose of the committees is to invest the people with greater rights and possibilities in their places of residence and in their jobs, so that, as true masters of their country, they may actively participate in discussing and resolving all state and public affairs.

One of the main reasons for the emergence of these committees is the requirement to rally all social factors of our civic society in discussing and implementing all tasks pertaining to nationwide issues and in resolving the problems of the territorial communities. The problems of real life are complicated and their solution not only depends upon this and upon that organization, but calls for the joint efforts and the coordinated attention of our entire public.

The committees will accomplish their tasks by fully observing the independence and equal rights of the organizations and movements involved. The leadership of the committees will be changing according to the

rotation principle and it will be entrusted to the first leaders of the respective member organizations and movements. The committees will not establish their own administrative apparatus because their activities will be organized with the assistance of the Fatherland Front leadership and institutions. The committees will not be organized in the form of a hierarchical subordination along vertical lines. The common expediency and uniformity of the committees' activities will be achieved on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism, according to the statutes and charters of the individual organizations and movements.

[OTECHESTVEN FRONT] Can you describe your impressions of the progress of the committees' establishment and on their first results?

[Kubadinski] The first committees were established toward the middle of June 1989 as an expression of the people's independence and of the enhanced political activities of the leaderships of social organizations and movements in the municipalities, on the basis of common agreement and joint initiative. Committees already exist in the majority of the municipalities and the process of establishing them on a municipal level should be completed within the forthcoming days.

This shows that the idea of establishing the committees is quite topical and therefore evokes nationwide and spontaneous people's support. At the hitherto held constituent meetings on the municipal level the first leaders of social organizations, movements, and associations, which are represented in the committees, expressed their support for establishing such committees and voiced their opinions on their place and role in developing the municipalities and in solving the problems of the population. The number of constituent members is different according to specific conditions and initiatives. The questions with which the committees are expected to deal in the forthcoming months were mapped out.

Naturally, the appropriate methods are currently being sought after to produce the most fruitful and effective work by the voluntary committees. The main thing is that everyone should become aware of the fact that the committees are not intended to function as new administrative organs and will not be considered as such, but should represent centers and units of coordination, while their decisions adopted on the basis of joint agreement will be carried out by all members, each of them relying on his own organs and organizations and applying his own methods of work, with the assistance and cooperation of the Fatherland Front, to which the committees are attached. Naturally, however, all members will be personally responsible for the results of the committees' activities.

[OTECHESTVEN FRONT] Can you describe the tasks of the committees, in most general lines, and can you tell me whether they are introducing any organizational changes in the structure of the Fatherland Front?



[Kubadinski] In the first place, I must point out that the committees in question represent a unique, new form of democratic coordination of different social interests and of searching unity of action, cooperation, and cooperation of the entire public on the basis of socialist pluralism aimed at the development and prosperity of the social communities—the municipalities, oblasts, and the entire country—a form which is unprecedented in our country. They are in charge of proposing ideas, of coordinating interests, needs, and activities, and of working out common stands and programs on sociopolitical, socioeconomic, and cultural problems. These problems stem from the restructuring process which involves our country's entire social life and they should above all be fully coordinated with the restructuring process.

The committees of political and social forces are expected to discuss and develop common stands on all initiatives in support of self-management, for the active involvement of the population in management and power, and in social economic and cultural activities. In this manner they will better contribute to implementing direct and representative democracy, in connection with the election and functioning of state organs and in comprehensively expanding the working people's initiatives.

The establishment of the committees of political and social forces attached to the Fatherland Front restores the original essence and nature of this organization as a wide people's movement of joint actions for the sake of achieving a qualitatively new state of socialism and for the purpose of transforming Bulgaria into a highly developed and civilized socialist state.

Over the years of its existence the Fatherland Front has always tried to adopt new tasks, functions, and forms of organization and work in accordance with the specific conditions existing in our country. The qualitative changes in the Fatherland Front's functions and activities requires that the process of fundamentally restructuring the organizational structure, working methods, and style of our organization should be accelerated. Along with everything else, we are already engaged in establishing Fatherland Front oblast leaderships and political and social forces' committees with rights and obligations on an oblast scale.

[OTECHESTVEN FRONT] You mentioned the term "civic society." Can you describe the goals of the committees and the present mechanisms likely to guarantee the direct participation of the citizens in solving crucial problems?

[Kubadinski] It clearly appears from my previous remarks that the committees are playing an important role in civic society. This role, however, will be primarily determined by the activities of the committees, by their skill in joining the efforts of all voluntary organizations and forces in implementing nationwide and local tasks. I

think that in this manner, on the basis of self-initiative, with the direct and decisive participation of all forces, and with the efforts of the party first of all, unity of action will be achieved in solving all problems.

I would like once more to stress that the committees, in dealing with the questions they are discussing, are entitled to submit proposals to the relevant people's councils and other state power and administrative organs. In this context, the stands expressed by the committees will be considered as consultative and decisions will be adopted on the basis of common consent. The fact that the committees will be chaired by the first leaders of the participating organizations presupposes a deeper involvement and more responsibility; it provides guarantees for achieving the positive results for which the committees are striving.

The comprehensive activities of the committees should be implemented by involving the population in discussing and directly resolving all emerging problems on the basis of the forms of direct democracy. It is required that the committees increase their responsibilities in connection with enhancing the role of the general assembly of the population in townships, where all essential problems related to the people's interests are being dealt with. Efforts should be devoted to establishing conditions under which the responsible state and economic organs should permanently account for their activities, especially in the sphere of public services, at special sessions and meetings with the population. Glasnost, public openness, and the massive character of all manifestations on the occasion of which citizens' opinions are heard, submitted, and discussed, should be guaranteed.

[OTECHESTVEN FRONT] Is there any danger that the committees may primarily engage in solving certain consumers' problems and thus, so to say, overlook the so-called main issues, such as the unification of our nation, patriotic education, and the further development of the socialist individual's soul [dushevnost]?

[Kubadinski] This danger does not exist, in my opinion. The main issues which the committees are currently in charge of resolving should directly and indirectly contribute to the active process of further unifying the Bulgarian socialist nation. The committees are expected to assist the patriotic education of the people and youth in order to support the development of the socialist consciousness and behavior of all citizens in their daily work, in their personal and family life, and in their active involvement with the renewal of socialist society.

It is of great importance today that the committees should respond to the most topical requirement, namely, to rally the efforts of all patriots against attempts aimed at destabilizing the people's unity, at sowing confusion among some of the Bulgarian Muslims, and at disrupting law, order, and discipline by taking advantage of the broadly democratic character of our new legislation related to the issue of foreign travel passports.



The work of the committees in contributing to the preservation, development, and spreading of national, political, and other values, and of the achievements and ideals of socialism is particularly urgent today. This also applies to the tasks of further developing the population's intellectual and cultural life, of promoting the talents of the socialist individual as a creative personality and as a citizen, and it also applies to the task of transforming restructuring into a nationwide cause.

[OTECHSTVEN FRONT] How would you briefly describe the Fatherland Front's activities under the newly established conditions?

[Kubadinski] The existence of the committees of political and social forces requires an optimal expansion of the independent and public nature of the Fatherland Front as an organization. It is, above all, necessary once and for all to eliminate the unnecessary elements of regulation which obstruct the flexible and comprehensive manifestation of the citizens' personal initiative and creativity, and which restrict the opportunities for adopting joint efforts and for forming various associations as an expression of pluralistic opinions and interests. The striving of the Fatherland Front to involve the entire population, to multiply and further develop the methods of work of independent and voluntary groups dealing with the people's interests and needs, as well as to introduce a more dynamic pace and freedom of action should be intensified. It is the permanent obligation of the Fatherland Front to contribute, as much as possible, to the citizens' participation in administering state affairs and to facilitate this participation, as well as to expand the people's sociopolitical activities and their voluntary involvement under the conditions of ever expanding democracy and self-management.

All these tasks require us to give a new meaning to the principle on the gradual transformation of the Fatherland Front from an organization into a movement, and from a movement into an organization, by creating conditions for an ever increasing expansion of the Fatherland Front into a nationwide movement and into a specific, original, typically Bulgarian community, aimed at rallying all efforts for the purpose of further unifying the socialist civic society.

#### **Tank Regiment Withdrawal From Poland Reported** AU0607123489

[Editorial Report] Sofia OTECHSTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 5 July on page 2 publishes a 1,000-word undated report by the newspaper's correspondent Ventseslav Karaivanov, datelined Warsaw and Strachow, describing a trip arranged by the Polish Interpress Agency for Polish and foreign journalists to observe the ceremonial withdrawal of a Soviet tank training regiment from Strachow in Lower Silesia.

Karaivanov describes in detail the journey to the tank training ground, which he noted was now occupied by peaceful mushroom pickers, and then reports on the farewell parade held next morning before the last contingent of Soviet tanks and crews was shipped by rail to the Soviet border. He describes the warm farewell given to the Soviet troops by "representatives of the neighboring Polish military unit."

Karaivanov also reports on the news conference held after the parade by "representatives of the Public Committee for Observing the Reduction of Soviet Arms and Armed Forces," including the committee's deputy chairman, Sergey Rogov, from the United States of America and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. According to Karaivanov, Rogov announced that "so far two training regiments had been withdrawn from Poland, and a missile regiment, a chemical warfare defense battalion, an armored personnel carrier battalion, and a helicopter regiment... were due to be withdrawn before the end of July." Karaivanov notes that, while answering questions, Rogov "devoted great attention to the sociopolitical consequences of the present reductions," with which his group was mainly concerned, particularly with finding new jobs and homes for the demobilized servicemen.

#### **Decree on Peacetime Mobilization Discussed** AU0507134689 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 4 Jul 89 p 2

[Text] Today's issue of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK No. 51 published a Decree of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on civilian mobilization in peacetime. It is pointed out in the decree that such a mobilization may be introduced to ensure the necessary manpower and technical equipment under exceptional circumstances, or in case of major natural disasters, causing considerable difficulties for the national economy and the country as a whole. All able-bodied citizens of the People's Republic of Bulgaria shall be subject to the mobilization, and this applies to women from the age of 18 to 55, and to men from the age of 18 to 60. Military personnel and volunteers of the Armed Forces, members of other military troops, the people's militia, and the fire brigades, as well as mothers of children under 7 years of age, pregnant women, and citizens whose state of health does not permit them to perform the tasks related to mobilization, are exempt from mobilization. Citizens may be mobilized on the basis of the labor statute of the respective enterprise, or department in which they are permanently employed, or they may be transferred to serve in other enterprises, departments, or organizations. In case the mobilized citizen should be transferred to another settlement, his transportation expenses shall be paid. The jobs of those people, who are involved in civilian mobilization, are retained for them. Civilian mobilization for a certain period shall be announced by the State Council if it applies to the whole country—and by the Council of Ministers—in case of partial mobilization for individual, administrative-territorial units,

branches, and activities. The order on civilian mobilization of individuals shall be issued by the chairman of the respective Oblast People's Council Executive Committee. Persons subject to civilian mobilization, who absent themselves from work, or fail to accomplish the tasks assigned to them without providing valid excuses, shall be punished by fines amounting from 100 to 2,000 leva. This fine shall be increased from 1,000 to 5,000 leva in case of repeated offenses. The Ministry of Planning and Economy is authorized to issue instructions on the application of the provisions of the decree.

**Economist Urges Cooperation With CEMA Reforms**  
*AU2906211089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO*  
*in Bulgarian 28 Jun 89 p 5*

[Article by Prof Marin Petrov, doctor of economic sciences: "Facing the Experience of New Realities"]

[Text] Recent criticism of CEMA activities has drastically increased. As a matter of fact, the development of this organization over the last 40 years was by no means straightforward and cannot be evaluated with a one-sided approach.

A critical and objective analysis of the past experience of cooperation is required.

In stressing the incontestable achievements of the CEMA member countries and of their mutual cooperation, we are simultaneously aware of the critical situation which our community is facing. Sharp, controversial problems and negative trends have accumulated under the influence of numerous external and internal factors. Under these circumstances, the present form of CEMA cooperation can no longer play the role of a catalyst in our countries' intensive development.

The revolutionary changes which are currently under way in most CEMA member countries, the introduction of new management methods, the increased economic independence of our enterprises, and the worldwide economic processes require appropriate changes in our cooperation and a fundamental restructuring in the cooperation mechanism and in CEMA activities as a whole.

The trend toward radically restructuring the CEMA cooperation mechanism was initiated in November 1986, at the working meeting of the fraternal party leaders, and was practically implemented through the decisions adopted at the 43d and 44th CEMA Session. Nevertheless, the implementation of these decisions is proceeding too slowly and the results are unsatisfactory, as was pointed out at the last meeting of the CEMA Executive Committee. Different views and approaches on this restructuring process still exist. The basic difficulties stem from differences in the internal mechanisms

of the member-countries, from differences related to the essence of their reforms and the speed of their implementation, from differences in the countries' levels and from national peculiarities.

Restructuring in the integration mechanism requires the economic organizations to become real subjects of socialist integration on the basis of scientific-production relations, on the basis of establishing joint enterprises and international associations. Over 2,000 scientific and economic organizations from socialist countries are involved in such relations today. This includes 280 enterprises from the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the USSR and 60 Bulgarian-Soviet joint enterprises. Joint enterprises with Western partners are in the process of establishment at accelerated rates.

The CEMA member countries adopted special measures aimed at eliminating the bureaucratic barriers preventing progressive forms of cooperation. In Bulgaria, for example, companies are entitled to establish joint enterprises and to participate in the work of foreign economic organizations with their own capital investments, and so forth, without a special authorization from the state organs.

Nevertheless, all these direct links are not yet exerting the necessary impact upon the solution of crucial problems related to the scientific-technical progress and upon the intensification of specialization and production sharing in the output of competitive goods and in speeding up the mutual commodities' turnover.

The fact that the focus of attention is now shifting toward the participation of enterprises in the integration process by no means affects their importance at the macro-economic level.

Without coordinating the economic policy of the member states and without developing the strategic goals of cooperation, it is impossible to solve the most urgent problems facing the socialist community. This activity should be implemented in a comprehensive manner on the basis of forecasts by assessing the real processes which are currently under way in CEMA member countries and all over the world. This activity should involve the entire cycle of reproduction processes.

The coordination of national economic plans is a basic instrument for synchronizing the economic policy of the member countries. It is expected that this policy should contribute to guarantee a stable growth and balance of the member countries' economies, to the intensification of specialization and production sharing, and especially to the production of new equipment on the basis of analytical research papers included in the Comprehensive Program for Scientific-Technical Progress.

The extensive development of commodity-monetary relations in cooperation among the member countries and their economic units is a crucial problem of restructuring the mechanism of cooperation. Practical experience persistently requires that we should more promptly react to objective processes in the price setting sphere and that our contractual prices should be more closely coordinated with current prices on the world markets.

Radical changes are required in connection with financial-currency and credit mechanisms. No effective, economic model of cooperation is possible without consolidating the monetary functions of the collective currency, without guaranteeing the convertibility between the national currencies and the convertible ruble, as well as their convertibility related to Western currencies. Realistic currencies, exchange rates, and a system of multilateral settlements are required.

An agreement on the gradual establishment of conditions for a free circulation of goods, services, and other production factors, with a view to the future establishment of a common market, has been concluded between the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, Cuba, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the USSR, and the CSSR.

Is this a realistic project? Numerous experts describe it as an "unfeasible dream," as an "illusion", and so forth. It is no secret that, according to some countries, this question should only be a subject of theoretical studies for the time being. It is true that arbitrary solutions in this respect are not helpful, but it is the question of a prolonged process and of a future goal, the prerequisites for which should be gradually prepared in advance. We would commit an unexcusable mistake if we should wait for a simultaneous coincidence of all necessary conditions, before we proceed toward the establishment of a common market. Worldwide practical experience shows that internal and external processes are developing in organic unity.

Restructuring in the CEMA member countries and the restructuring process related to their cooperation provide opportunities for the socialist community to open up to the world on a greater scale. Considering the tremendous potential of our socialist system, a 9 percent participation in the worldwide turnover of goods is an extremely unsatisfactory factor. In addition to this, the structure of our exports is far from effective, since fuels and raw materials are prevailing.

The declaration signed a year ago between CEMA and the EEC provides favorable conditions for the development of relations between the two communities. The barriers preventing joint enterprising activities are gradually being eliminated in CEMA member-countries. We expect from the EEC member-countries that they should

more promptly eliminate their numerous discriminatory obstacles and review an anachronism, such as the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls [Cocom].

We should point out in conclusion that an intensive study, synthesis, and analysis of experience in individual CEMA member countries is required, that we should timely assess the changes and emerging contradictions in our cooperation. Mutually acceptable solutions should be found with joint efforts and collective will, and international experience should be accumulated in connection with the renewal of socialism and with the creation of a new model of socialist economic integration.

**Good Economic Results Expected in First 6 Months**  
*AU0607140789 Sofia BTA in English*  
1341 GMT 6 Jul 89

["Support for Initiative To Overfulfill 1989 Plan"—  
BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, July 6 (BTA)—The Council of Ministers and the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions have considered the initiative of the work forces, of the companies and of other organisations to fulfill and overfulfill the 1989 plan and to produce extra output. A number of work forces, acting on their own initiative, are already working on longer hours and on some of the days off and are organizing the most rational utilization of their production and labour resources. They apply flexible hours and modes of work, increase the number of work shifts and apply piece-work and leasehold on a wider scale.

The national economy is expected to perform well during the first half of the year. Growth rates have been guaranteed on all leading indicators. A rich harvest is expected in agriculture.

Under the guidance of the associations and the executive committees of the people's councils, the companies and the other economic organisations are working out programmes to ensure the necessary conditions for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the annual plan.

**Sofia Kremikovtsi Plant Converts to Natural Gas**  
*AU0107181589 Sofia Domestic Service*  
in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 1 Jul 89

[Text] The thermoelectric power plant at the Kremikovtsi State Company, one of the main sources of air pollution in Sofia, has been changed over from solid fuel firing to natural gas. A treatment installation for effluent waters from the Kremikovtsi State Company has also started operating at optimum efficiency.



Thanks to these installations, the metallurgical enterprise will no longer annually discharge 100,000 tonnes of noxious substances into Sofia's atmosphere, and 9 million cubic meters of effluent will also be treated.

To mark the occasion, the management of the company held a meeting today with journalists and city leaders, among whom was Comrade Ivan Panev. A discussion was held on the next stages of the program for improving the ecological situation in the region.

**Health Ministry Says Black Sea Pollution-Free**  
*AU0507184689 Sofia BTA in English*  
1735 GMT 7 Jul 89

["The Black Sea Is Pollution-Free"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, July 5 (BTA)—In connection with questions about the purity of the water of the Black Sea, the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare informed the BTA that the data of the systematic monitoring of the sea water carried out by the Hygiene-Epidemiological Inspections in the cities of Burgas, Varna, and Tolbukhin show that there are no deviations in the different groups of indices: chemical, microbiological, radiological. For years now the indices of the purity of the sea water have been almost one and the same. Pathogenic microorganisms have not been found. The radiation levels of the sea water, fish and mussels is below normal.

Holidaying at the Black Sea resorts is recommended by the ministry for all age groups of the population.

**POGLED Reviews Remedies for Prostitution**  
*AU2706120389*

[Editorial Report] Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No 26, on 26 June on page 11 carries a 2,500-word article by Zoya Zakharieva, entitled: "Ring of a Persian Queen." The article consists of two parts. The first part describes Zakharieva's visit to a corrective establishment and conversation with two Bulgarian prostitutes, who describe the circumstances of their turning to prostitution, mostly, broken homes, pregnancy at a very young age, and so forth.

The second part of the article describes a conversation with Scientific Fellows Yonko Kunchev and Konstantin Simeonov, authors of a "study on the struggle against prostitution," and Senior Scientific Fellow Ivan Grigorov, section head at the Scientific Criminology Institute of the People's Militia. The scientists point out that "prostitution statistics are a difficult matter because of the latent character of the phenomenon." They point out "social reasons," "unrealistic requirements," and "love disappointment" as the main reasons for women turning to prostitution, and propose "to introduce an administrative penalty for prostitution."

In her conclusion Zakharieva points out that "prostitution is not an imported phenomenon, but one that grows in Bulgaria." She asks "whether the legal system is clear enough in dealing with prostitution, or whether there are open gaps," and proposes to improve the conditions of special corrective establishments for prostitutes.

**Leaders' Public Appearances for 23-30 Jun**  
*AU3006163089*

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newscasts, the Sofia press, and Sofia BTA in English during the monitoring period from 1500 GMT on 23 June through 1500 GMT on 30 June report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (source line of each report given in parentheses):

Todor Zhivkov, with Milko Balev attending, received in Sofia on 27 June a group of Italian parliamentary deputies led by Flaminio Piccoli. (Sofia BTA in English 1741 GMT 27 Jun 89)

Georgi Atanasov, with Andrey Lukanov in attendance, received in Sofia on 27 June CEMA Secretary Vyacheslav Sychev. (Sofia BTA in English 1439 GMT 27 Jun 89)

The following leaders attended a festive meeting in Sofia on 29 June to mark the centenary anniversary of the foundation of the Second International: Milko Balev, Dimitur Stanishev, Dimitur Stoyanov, and Yordan Yotov. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 29 Jun 89)

Todor Zhivkov, with Georgi Atanasov present, received GDR Council of Ministers Chairman Willi Stoph in Sofia on 30 June. (Sofia BTA in English 1346 GMT 30 Jun 89)

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the State Council, held talks with Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow on 23 June, (Sofia BTA in English 2023 GMT 23 Jun 89) met with Soviet and Bulgarian correspondents at Vnukovo Airport before his departure, (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 23 Jun 89) Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 23 Jun 89) (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Jun 89 pp 1, 5) and then returned to Sofia in the evening of the same day. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 23 Jun 89) In Sofia on 26 June Zhivkov received Albert Chernyshev, Soviet ambassador to Turkey. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 26 Jun 89) In Sofia on 27 June Zhivkov received Army General Petr Lushev, Warsaw Pact commander in chief. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 27 Jun 89) In Sofia on 29 June Zhivkov received SRV Defense Minister Le Duc Anh, (Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 29 Jun 89) and also made a speech at the traditional meeting of the BCP Central Committee



Secretariat with the students and staff of the Academy of Social Sciences and Social Management in Sofia. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 29 Jun 89)

Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received in Sofia on 27 June Zeng Xianlin, PRC minister of light industry. (Sofia BTA in English 1738 GMT 27 Jun 89) On 29 June he welcomed GDR Council of Ministers Chairman Willi Stoph at Sofia Airport. (Sofia BTA in English 1517 GMT 29 Jun 89) held talks with Stoph the same day. (Sofia BTA in English 1517 GMT 29 Jun 89) and gave a dinner in his honor. (Sofia BTA in English 1827 GMT 29 Jun 89) at which both premiers proposed toasts. (Sofia BTA in English 2033 GMT 29 Jun 89) In Sofia on 30 June Atanasov continued his talks with Stoph. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 30 Jun 89)

Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received in Sofia a Cuban military delegation led by Sixto Batista Santana, chief of the Military Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba. (Sofia RABOT-NICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Jun 89 p 6) Balev also met in Sofia with the group of Italian parliamentarians led by Flaminio Piccolli, who ended their visit on 27 June. (Sofia BTA in English 2151 GMT 27 Jun 89)

Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, welcomed at Sofia Airport on 26 June Army Gen Petr Lushev, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, and later had a meeting with him. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 26 Jun 89) In Sofia on the same day Dzhurov received Le Duc Anh, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam and Vietnamese minister of national defense. (Sofia BTA in English 1733 GMT 26 Jun 89) On 27 June Dzhurov saw off Warsaw Pact Commander in Chief Petur Lushev from Sofia Airport. (Sofia BTA in English 1749 GMT 27 Jun 89)

Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, received in Sofia on 27 June a group of Italian parliamentary deputies led by Flaminio Piccolli. (Sofia Domestic Service in

Bulgarian 1500 GMT 27 Jun 89) On 28 June Mladenov departed from Sofia on a visit to the FRG. (Sofia BTA in English 0719 GMT 28 Jun 89) He arrived in Bonn on 28 June and had two meetings with FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. (Sofia Domestic Bulgarian 1730 GMT 28 Jun 89) (Sofia BTA in English 1851 GMT 28 Jun 89) In Bonn on 29 June Mladenov had further talks with Genscher, was received by President von Weizsaecker, and met with Otto von Lambsdorff. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 29 Jun 89) (Sofia BTA in English 2104 GMT 29 Jun 89)

Petko Danchev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, Danchev signed an memorandum on economic cooperation in Sofia on 23 June at the end of his talks with Milutin Milosevic of Serbia. (Sofia BTA in English 1745 GMT 23 Jun 89)

Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign economic relations, had meetings with Milutin Milosevic of Serbia during his visit from 21 through 23 June. (Sofia BTA in English 1501 GMT 23 Jun 89) In Sofia on 26 June Lukanov attended a ceremony at which Soviet Ambassador Viktor Sharapov presented awards to Soviet specialists working in Bulgaria. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 26 Jun 89) Lukanov also met in Sofia with the group of Italian parliamentarians led by Flaminio Piccolli, who ended their visit on 27 June. (Sofia BTA in English 2151 GMT 27 Jun 89)

Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of culture, science, and education, awarded the Cyril and Methodius Order to an Austrian architect at the World Architecture Biennale in Sofia on 23 June. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 23 Jun 89) In Sofia on 30 June Yordanov chaired a joint meeting of the Committee for Culture and academic bodies to elect delegates to a forthcoming congress of culture. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 30 Jun 89)

Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, held talks with Milutin Milosevic of Serbia during his visit from 21 through 23 June. (Sofia BTA in English 1501 GMT 23 Jun 89)

**Press Reports on Discussion at CPCZ Plenum**  
AU0607172289

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 16 June on pages 4 and 5, on 17 June on pages 4 to 6, and on 20 June on pages 3 to 5 publishes accounts of all 37 statements made during the debate at the 14th session of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee held in Prague on 14 to 15 June. Two of these statements—by Miroslav Stepan, the only member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium or Secretariat to have spoken in the debate, and by Vasil Bilak—have been processed as separate items. The remaining 35 statements published by RUDE PRAVO, which total approximately 40,000 words, are devoted largely to problems of scientific-technical development. The speakers (members and candidate members of the CPCZ Central Committee) discuss the application of science and technology and the process of structural changes in various enterprises, research establishments, and industrial branches and the role of party organizations in this process. They outline the most pressing tasks in research and development and emphasize the importance of restructuring and improved international cooperation for their accomplishment. Many speakers also analyze the causes of Czechoslovakia's backwardness in this area and refer to the negative political repercussions of the country's lag in science and technology.

The reasons they give for Czechoslovakia's unsatisfactory performance in this field include the system of management and price setting, which does not encourage technical development and innovations; the planning system, which discourages enterprises from taking risks; the wage policy, under which unskilled labor is better paid than qualified labor; investment policy, which continues to make builders and designers interested in expensive projects and long construction times; the technological backwardness of the engineering sector (and, in particular, the shortage of modern machinery and computer technology and the unreliability and poor quality of domestically-made electronic components); as well as various "administrative and legislative barriers" and incompetent management of science.

A few speakers discuss more general political issues. Karol Poelhoe, for instance, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Surice united agricultural cooperative in Lucenec district, discusses the results of the party's nationality policy. Poelhoe, who is himself of Hungarian origin, stresses that members of the Hungarian minority regard Czechoslovakia as their home and that they have the opportunity to "assert themselves fully" in political, economic, and cultural life. He praises the absence of "nationality frictions" in areas inhabited by Slovaks and Hungarians, which he attributes to the party's "sensitive approach to the solution of the nationality issue." He continues: "In defiance of the aforementioned positive facts, there are certain forces that would like to cast doubt on the coexistence of

Slovaks and Hungarians and provoke nationalist sentiments. It is a fact that, next to positive features, shortcomings exist as well. The parents of children of pre-school age are pointing out that even in villages where 95 to 98 percent of residents are of Hungarian nationality there are no Hungarian classes in kindergarten. Even in the district town of Lucenec where one-quarter of the residents are Hungarians there does not exist a Hungarian class in kindergarten. It was wrong to have abolished Hungarian and Slovak schools in small villages. As a consequence of the integration of schools, many capable young agronomists, veterinarians, and other specialists have left villages because their children of school age would have to travel up to 10 km to school, without being able to opt for instruction in their mother tongue.

"We often hear that graduates of Hungarian schools do not possess the necessary level of knowledge. I see a solution in the training of a sufficient number of qualified pedagogues and in the creation of the necessary material conditions. Then this problem will not exist. There are also problems with textbooks. I know from my own experience that their translations into Hungarian are literal, slavish, unprofessional, that in many cases the textbooks are outdated. The fact is also often being criticized, even at party meetings, that in areas inhabited by citizens of the Slovak and Hungarian nationalities public buildings, schools, cultural establishments, and shops do not have bilingual signs. This shortcoming, too, needs to be removed.

"Publishing activity in Hungarian is rich and its standard is adequate. Periodicals for the youth and for young pioneers hold their own internationally. I do propose, however, that the expansion of television broadcasting in Hungarian be contemplated. The programs themselves should be oriented more at the life and work of Hungarian citizens of the CSSR, instead of mechanically taking over Slovak and Czech materials as is the case now."

While all speakers acknowledge the need for restructuring, some of them criticize some recently adopted economic measures or voice concern about the impact of the new economic mechanism and of self-financing.

Vaclav Vaclavik, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and leading secretary of the North Moravia CPCZ Regional Committee, and Stanislava Stechova, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee, workshop head in the Trebon plant of the South Bohemian Bakeries and Confectioneries, for example, criticize the restructuring of wholesale prices that went into effect on 1 January this year, saying that even the new prices are derived from manufacturers' actual costs. According to Vaclavik, the new wholesale prices show that "the price authorities accepted the enterprises' calculations" and that they are "not willing to place our enterprises under the pressure of world prices." As a result, says Vaclavik, prices are divorced from the utility value of products and enterprises are encouraged to keep their costs high.

Another result is that Czechoslovakia continues "to export a number of products unprofitably without the [exporting] enterprises feeling it in any way."

Several speakers point out that, with the increased economic powers of enterprises, supplier-user relations have deteriorated and enterprises are having greater difficulties securing the supplies they need. Maria Zabranska, member of the CPCZ Central Committee, worker in the Tesla plant in Liberec, for example, notes that the "new measures, such as the abolition of supply allocations, the freedom of enterprises to limit their range of products, and the impossibility of turning to the arbitration office in the case of disagreements, have, so far, resulted in the deterioration of material supplies."

Another newly introduced economic instrument that is subjected to criticism is the 50-percent levy on wages. Karel Poelhoe says, for example, that the first 5 months of application of this new instrument in agriculture have already landed cooperatives in "financial problems." He warns that, unless the system of levies is "reassessed," cooperatives "will not be willing to grow labor-intensive products such as vegetables and fruit." Concern about the impact of the levy on wages is voiced also by Rudolf Hronec, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee, director of the Research Institute for Computer Technology in Zilina, and Josef Kral, member of the CPCZ Central Committee, locksmith in the Sigma plant in Hranice na Morave. They argue that this levy, when applied to research workers, is counterproductive because it encourages enterprises to economize on research. They both call for a reduction of this levy.

The fear that the pursuit of short-term economic interests will reduce the interest of enterprises in research and innovation is expressed also by Zdenek Hlozek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee, director of the Forming Technology Research and Production Organization in Brno. He warns that if enterprises will depend only on their retained earnings for the funding of their development, "instead of developing, the production base will become even more obsolete by the end of the next 5-year plan."

Adela Hynkova, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee, a textile worker from the Tiba plant in Beroun, takes exception to the government decision to impose a moratorium on investments up to the end of the year. She complains that her enterprise had to stop the construction of an air conditioning system which is essential for the operation of its new textile machinery and for which it had already secured materials and machinery. "By not completing the project," she says, "we will not only make it impossible to use the new technology, but will substantially aggravate the conditions for women in our weaving mill and, moreover, our national economy will not save even a penny. I do not

want a party meeting to serve the solution of economic problems but our working people, and party members in particular, are asking us day after day about the purpose of these measures."

The policies of the "center" are criticized also in some other speeches. Jaromir Obzina, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR deputy premier, says that it was a mistake to pass the law on state enterprises first and only then to work on the new planning law, the new constitution, and the new party program. As a result, he says, "state enterprises and ministries are not sure whether this or that element introduced by restructuring has a relatively long-term validity or whether it is only provisional and, consequently, cannot be reckoned with in the long term. This does not contribute to the practical implementation of restructuring." Obzina views this as "evidence of our inadequate preparedness" and as evidence that the concept of restructuring "has not been adequately thought out." Obzina also criticizes the "absence to this day of a comprehensive state concept for external economic relations," as a result of which problems of socialist economic integration and economic ties with capitalist countries are "dealt with in isolation and independent of one another, which is not an ideal situation."

The absence of a concept of restructuring is also deplored by Zdenek Hlozek. He says: "The basic problem has not been resolved yet, and that is the drafting and discussion of the basic economic concept of restructuring and of the follow-up program of political and organizational provisions. Only then will it be possible to clearly assess the progress of restructuring, to set in motion political-educational and ideological work, but also to counter the objections that only the immaterial measures are being dealt with today, while the fundamental measures influencing the operation of state enterprises will be known, in the best of cases, in the first quarter of 1990, effective 1 January 1990."

This criticism of the "center" is affirmed by Milan Kubat, member of the CPCZ Central Committee, head of the chair for microelectronics at the Czech College of Technology in Prague. Kubat says: "Enterprises are still not uncovering their hidden potentials, directors continue to be cautious and distrustful, trying to create for themselves favorable conditions for the forthcoming period by hiding their true potentials. In short, they are scheming. Why is this so? Because the center, too, is cautious, because the center, too, speculates. The economic conditions for enterprises, particularly the redistribution of profits and levies, have been fixed by the central agencies for this year alone. The economic conditions for next year and for the Ninth 5-Year Plan are so far unknown. This makes it possible for the center to declare for 1990 and for the Ninth 5-Year Plan rules that are different from this year's. This is advantageous for the center because it is not known how the economy will



develop this year. The center can modify the economic conditions. At the same time this means, however, that enterprises are waiting to see."

The "negative impact of constant changes in economic conditions on the initiative and motivation" of factory staffs is noted also by Jiri Brueckner, member of the CPCZ Central Committee, a smelter from Kladno. In addition, Brueckner expresses reservations about the frequent cadre changes in the central agencies. He says: "I fully understand the need for cadre changes when a new leadership is being formed. However, I am having difficulties when I have to explain in our enterprise party organization why we are going to have already the fourth minister in the course of only 1 year." Frequent cadre changes are criticized also by other speakers. Frantisek Kubes, member of the CPCZ Central Committee, an iron-founder from the CKD plant in Prague, says that he is "not convinced that frequent changes among ministers will resolve our problems, which are mounting day after day." Milan Kubat says that he is "adding his voice to those who are of the opinion that creative unrest is necessary but that it must be brought about by being demanding on cadres and not merely by means of constant cadre reshuffles."

Two speakers, Vladimir Polednik, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee, chairman of the Trade Union of Mining and Power Industry Workers, and Frantisek Poukar, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee, director of the Temelin nuclear power station, warn against hasty structural changes in the power industry. In an indirect reference to the proposals of the Forecasting Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences that investments in the power industry be restricted, Polednik points out that "various forecasts discussed even in the central agencies" are "creating an unfavorable atmosphere" among miners, "leading often up to lack of understanding for the very principles of restructuring."

Polednik continues: "At the back of the minds of many leading economic officials and theorists is the conviction that there will always be enough coal, under any circumstances. Approximately 26 billion tonnes of geological reserves of coal and lignite have been ascertained in Czechoslovakia. However, only 6 billion tonnes of these reserves are actually recoverable. Therefore, it is necessary to decide what to mine, what to import, what to replace by another source of energy, and what to leave for the use by future generations. I want to stress that the opening up of new deposits is a long-term affair. Our experience so far, based on the wholly objective reasons of unforeseen breakdowns and accidents, non-delivery of [contracted] energy, and extreme climatic conditions, teaches us that when it comes to energy resources it is necessary to secure essential contingency reserves. A highly responsible assessment of this matter, which is vital for our national economy and the population, is therefore necessary."

A similar warning against investment cuts in the power industry is voiced by Frantisek Poukar, who notes that, despite the "undeniable ecological contribution" of nuclear power, "discussions whether all four units of Temelin ought to be built continue." Responding to the unnamed critics of Temelin, Poukar says: "We are convinced that the republic will need the electricity from Temelin and that it will need it within the deadlines set by the government. Temelin will markedly contribute to improving the state of the environment by making it possible to cut back electricity generation in coal-burning power stations. A number of smokestacks in North Bohemia will be eliminated. However, I must express the opinion that the years 1991-93 could be critical. I would like to draw attention to the risk of delays in the construction of the Mochovce power station as well as to the fact that existing conventional power stations will be burning coal of poorer quality, that their degree of wear and tear will be high, and that they will have exceeded their optimal service life and will consequently be of greater need of repairs. There is also the risk of having to rebuild the V I unit at Jaslovské Bohunice. This is another reason why Temelin must be completed in time."

Apart from Vasil Bilak, only one speaker in the discussion makes a reference to the impact of current developments in the other socialist states. Speaking about the concerns of party members in his enterprise, CKD Prague, Frantisek Kubes says that "especially older party members express the fear lest the past of socialist construction in our country be criticized, lest scope be given to hostile forces, nationalism, or chauvinism, and lest our party mechanically copy various tendencies from other socialist countries; they believe that it should proceed from its own experiences and from the specific features of construction of socialism in our country."

**Adamec Receives, Holds Talks With GDR's Stief**  
LD0407132189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech  
1030 GMT 4 Jul 89

[Text] In Prague today, Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec received Albert Stief, chairman of the GDR Commission of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, who is in Czechoslovakia on a visit. During the conversation, Adamec informed his visitor about the current tasks of Czechoslovakia's development, and about the action taken to restructure the economic mechanism. He also singled out the importance and mission of the people's inspection organs and the effective function they discharge in the management of the economy.

Ladislav Adamec and Albert Stief also discussed all around cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the GDR.

**Lenart Returns From Visit to Yugoslavia**  
LD0107183389 Prague CTK in English  
1509 GMT 1 Jul 89

[Text] Prague July 1 (CTK)—Presidium member and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central



Committee Jozef Lenart returned here today from a four-day friendly working visit to Yugoslavia.

The visit took place at the invitation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee.

**Stepan Attends Youth Festival in Pyongyang**  
*AU0407173389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech  
1 Jul 89 p 7*

[CTK report: "Before the Opening of the 13th World Youth and Student Festival; M. Stepan and V. Mohorita Travel to Pyongyang"]

[Text] Prague—On Friday [30 June] Miroslav Stepan, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, flew to Pyongyang at the invitation of the Korean Workers Party Central Committee. In the capital city of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea he will participate as an honored guest in the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students [WFYS].

On Friday the leadership of the Czechoslovak delegation, headed by Vasil Mohorita, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat and chairman of the Socialist Youth Union Central Committee, also departed for the scene of the 13th WFYS in Pyongyang.

X X X

Pyongyang—On Friday the last part of the 600-strong Czechoslovak official festival delegation arrived in Pyongyang. The delegates who had arrived earlier took up a pre-festival offer from their Korean hosts to view historical monuments associated with the revolutionary struggle of the Korean people, to visit cultural performances in theaters and concert halls, or to go on excursions to enterprises and schools.

**Stepan Received by Kim Il-song**  
*AU0607084489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech  
4 Jul 89 p 1*

[CTK report: "Kim Il-song Received M. Stepan"]

[Text] On Monday [3 July] in Pyongyang Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Korean Workers Party [WPK] Central Committee and DPRK president, received Miroslav Stepan, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee. M. Stepan is heading a CPCZ Central Committee delegation to the DPRK which arrived at the invitation of the WPK.

In a friendly conversation Kim Il-song expressed his satisfaction at the development of relations to date between the CPCZ and the WPK and between the CSSR

and the DPRK and he sent his greetings to Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and to Gustav Husak, CSSR president.

He assessed highly the comprehensive support which the Czechoslovak people have provided for the preparations of the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students [WFYS] in Pyongyang. He also informed the CPCZ Central Committee delegation about developments on the Korean peninsula and about economic and social development in the DPRK.

M. Stepan referred to the building efforts of the DPRK people in the fulfillment of the tasks of the Third 7-Year Plan for the development of the national economy. He supported DPRK efforts for the peaceful and democratic unification of Korea. He also reported on the progress of restructuring in the CSSR.

Vasil Mohorita, chairman of the Socialist Youth Union Central Committee and chairman of the Czechoslovak National Preparatory Committee for the 13th WFYS, and members of the CPCZ Central Committee delegation—Miroslav Dockal, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department and Zdenek Horcik, mayor of the capital city of Prague, were also present at the reception in the Presidential Palace in Pyongyang. Also present was Vaclav Herman, CSSR ambassador to the DPRK.

During the course of the day in Pyongyang Miroslav Stepan also met with Choe Mun-son, leading secretary of the Pyongyang WPK City Committee and chairman of the municipal people's committee in Pyongyang.

**Johanes Interviewed on CSSR Mideast Policy**  
*PM0607142689 Damascus AL-BA'TH  
in Arabic 26 Jun 89 p 9*

[Interview with Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Johanes Jaromir by Muhammad Mansur in Prague; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Mansur] Comrade Minister, how can Syrian-CSSR relations be described, and how, in your view, can they be expanded and deepened?

[Johanes] Without any exaggeration, relations between the CSSR and Syria can be described as good and developed in all fields. The two countries and their peoples are bound by strong ties of traditional friendship proceeding from the broad harmony of views on international policy issues and bilateral cooperation issues.

The friendship and cooperation treaty signed between the CSSR and Syria in 1985—during the visit to the CSSR by Comrade Hafiz al-Asad, secretary general of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and president of the Syrian Arab Republic—marked an important turning point in our relations. Under that treaty in recent years there has been a considerable expansion of political relations and cooperation between parliamentarians, the

two governments, and the other organizations and influential bodies. Furthermore, relations between the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] and the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party are developing successfully. [passage omitted]

Our economic relations constitute a special element. Syria is an important trading partner for the CSSR. We have contributed, and we still contribute, to setting up many development projects, and it is natural for us to maintain our interest in successful joint economic and trade cooperation. We are aware of Syria's interest in all CSSR investments and industrial and consumer goods. We are seeking to greatly increase our imports from Syria. In other words, we want to obtain more oil, raw materials, and advanced Syrian industrial products.

Despite some of the problems that have occurred recently in economic relations between us, especially in the trade field, there are prospects for developing cooperation in the years ahead, at least at the present rate.

[Mansur] How would you assess the economic restructuring process and the promotion of democracy in the CSSR's social life, and does this process affect the Foreign Ministry? In other words, is there a restructuring process in the CSSR's relations with the world?

[Johanes] The CSSR is currently going through a stage in which we are trying to resolve many of the problems resulting from evolution. In brief, it can be said that the objective is to secure a further qualitative development of socialism in our country. In view of changing conditions at home and abroad, the urgent tasks—to implement which we are mobilizing our capabilities—are as follows: to resolutely continue the restructuring process and to promote democracy in the various areas of social life. [passage omitted]

Together with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, we are seeking to establish the rules and principles of the new political thinking which has received growing support from the international community's various forces.

Our objective is a sound restructuring process in all areas of international relations, based on democracy and justice. Within the framework of those efforts, we stress—as we will stress in the future—the application of the principle of balanced interests in political and economic relations with foreign countries and progress in enhancing their effectiveness and providing joint facilities for ourselves and our partners. I am convinced that observance of these principles and the adoption of new forms of cooperation in the various fields will open up new horizons in CSSR-Syrian relations.

[Mansur] Your country and numerous socialist states, especially the Soviet Union, has submitted important peace initiatives affecting Europe and the world. How would you assess the West's reactions to these initiatives, and do you believe they are sufficient to achieve a peaceful and secure world?

[Johanes] In recent years the socialist states, and especially the Warsaw Pact members, have submitted numerous serious peace proposals which reflect new political thinking and give priority to human values.

We honestly respect the fact that in the modern world—which is characterized by contradictions and disputes but is at the same time interconnected and united—it is essential to secure the states' and peoples' security by political means. Our objective is to create a world free of nuclear weapons, eliminate militarism, promote democracy, and make international relations more humane.

This is why the issues raised by the Warsaw Pact states include disarmament, political cooperation, international economic relations, the natural environment, and human issues.

We believe that a comprehensive program for resolving most of the urgent problems is embodied in the proposals and ideas included in the address by the Soviet Union's supreme representative, Mikhail Gorbachev, to the 43rd UN General Assembly session. We fully support those points and continue to contribute to their realization and establishment.

In this regard I would like to cite the proposals presented by the CSSR, and especially the initiative presented by CPCZ Central Committee General Secretary Milos Jakes for the establishment of a zone of confidence, cooperation, and good relations along the border between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states. In that initiative we presented to our Western friends a good number of cooperation possibilities in various fields, including the military and political fields, human relations, economic cooperation, and the environmental field on environmental protection. Furthermore, together with the FRG, we submitted the idea of creating a corridor or zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons in central Europe. Our prime minister, Ladislav Adamec, proposed to two of his opposite numbers in the neighboring states that a working meeting be held on the issue of protecting the natural environment.

I would like to emphasize that the socialist states' proposals in the disarmament field coincided with many unilateral disarmament measures to confirm the seriousness of our objectiveness. The world's peoples have welcomed the extensive international dialogue and cooperation policy pursued by the Warsaw Pact states. That policy is also given consideration by realistic Western political circles. It cannot be ignored by anyone—even by those who support the militarist tendency or by representatives of the military-industrial complexes.

All these conditions have led to an important change on the international scene: The Soviet-U.S. dialogue has stabilized, East-West relations have improved, cooperation has replaced confrontation, and the threat of nuclear war has disappeared.

But the forces of the past are trying to obstruct and complicate this positive development. There is a continuing armament fever, and efforts are continuing to dismiss the results achieved. Proof of this are the efforts to replace the missiles removed under the treaty on medium- and short-range missiles, the attempts to "teach the other states lessons," and the attempt to change the independent foreign policy of those states.

In general, it can be said that although the situation in the world is not easy, the positive trend is still steadily moving toward becoming firmly established and realized, and it is essential to do the utmost to avert any setback in that regard.

The situation in Europe is of special importance to international development. On that basis we consider the results of Mikhail Gorbachev's FRG visit very important, because they reflect real intentions to build a common European home. We welcome the general positive development at the 23d Vienna talks on reducing conventional weapons from the Atlantic to the Urals. We believe that the response of the recent NATO meeting in Brussels to the Warsaw treaty states' proposals is a step in the right direction.

Furthermore, we cannot ignore the fact that the declaration issued in Brussels contained various stances or wholly traditional methods.

[Mansur] Despite the prevailing atmosphere of international detente, the Middle East is still a long way from a just and permanent peace solution. How do you envisage a way of resolving the conflict in the region? And how do you view Syria's role in the region?

[Johanes] Despite the extraordinarily complex nature of the Middle East conflict and the great hostility among the major parties, I believe that the positive trend in international developments will be reflected in that region as well. The reason for this conclusion are the increasing international efforts to achieve a just, comprehensive peace solution for that area of tension, which constitutes an obstacle to world detente.

Even in the Middle East the political atmosphere has begun to change in favor of a just, comprehensive solution. More positive conditions are being created for progress toward peace. But the move from confrontation to dialogue requires a rational approach. Broad general agreement has realistically been achieved in favor of an international peace conference on the Middle East, which is considered the most suitable way of resolving all disputes.

The positive conditions we mentioned are the result of the Palestinian people's heroism in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. They have continued their unarmed intifadah [uprising] against the Israeli occupation for more than 1 and 1/2 years. The intifadah, which receives backing from the Arab, socialist, and nonaligned states, has also gained the sympathy of public opinion in both East and West.

The major obstacle to the initiation of the peace process in the Middle East is still represented by the Israeli Government's policy of escalation, since it still unlawfully occupies the Arab territories, suppresses the Palestinians' unarmed intifadah, and refuses to grant them the right to self-determination. [passage omitted]

Finally, I would like to welcome the important role played by the Syrian Arab Republic in the search for a solution to the situation in the Middle East region. I appreciate its efforts for the sake of a just settlement of the conflict. [Johanes ends]

On the situation in Hungary and Poland Comrade Johanes said: Each state implements the restructuring process according to its own circumstances. At the 14th CPCZ Central Committee session Comrade Jakes emphasized in his speech on Hungary and Poland that people in the CSSR have fears about what is happening in Poland and Hungary. But we are confident that the two parties in Poland and Hungary will be able to stop what is happening by strengthening and enhancing socialism. This, because the restructuring process means rejuvenating and strengthening socialism under present circumstances and eliminating all the obstacles, past and present, to that end.

He added: In our country we are working to deepen socialism, and obviously this is no easy matter, because it is a revolutionary process—in fact a fundamental revolutionary process. To achieve it we are preparing a new constitution and new laws. We are also preparing for the party congress scheduled for next May—a year before the date originally set.

Comrade Johanes pointed out that sometimes there emerge in the CSSR attempts to misuse the restructuring process, but he confirmed that the situation is under full control. He criticized the Western media which spread misinformation about the socialist states, and especially the CSSR.

**Zavadil Ends Talks, Official Visit to Spain**  
AU0407162389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech  
29 Jun 89 p 7

[CTK report: "Conclusion of the Visit by M. Zavadil"]

[Text] Madrid—At the end of a visit to Spain by an official Central Trade Union Council [URO] delegation, headed by Miroslav Zavadil, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee



Presidium and URO chairman, the URO and the Trade Union Confederation of Workers' Commissions (CC OO) issued a joint communique in Madrid on Wednesday [28 June]. In it, they appraised the high level of mutual ties and stressed the necessity for intensifying the cooperation of the international trade union movement in the struggle for workers' rights, peace, and understanding between nations.

On his last day, M. Zavadil met with Nicolas Redondo, general secretary of the General Workers' Union (UGT). He also held talks with Francisco Fernandez Marguan, secretary of the Spanish Socialist Worker's Party (PSOE). He considered the possibilities for further developing contacts between the CPCZ and the PSOE, first and foremost in the economic sphere.

#### **Press Examines 'Crusade' Against Socialism** *AU0507144189*

[Editorial Report] Under the common headline "The 'Crusade' Has Not Been Called Off," Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 10, 13, 21, and 29 June, on page 6 in each instance, publishes in four installments articles by RUDE PRAVO correspondents abroad dealing with "psychological warfare against the socialist countries." In their contributions, RUDE PRAVO correspondents in capitalist countries (FRG, Great Britain, United States, and France) view the continuation of Ronald Reagan's "crusade" against socialism as reflected in the media or policies of the countries of their accreditation, while the correspondents in socialist countries (PRC, Cuba, GDR, Bulgaria) mainly focus on Western media treatment of developments in the country of their accreditation. The contributions by RUDE PRAVO's correspondents in Budapest, Warsaw, and Belgrade also deal with the role of domestic media or opposition forces in the Western-inspired "crusade."

The material, which totals about 14,000 words, is preceded by the following introduction: "Former U.S. President Reagan's speech before the Parliament in London a few years ago, in which he proclaimed a 'crusade' against socialist countries, inspired and initiated an unprecedented escalation of the psychological warfare against socialism. We bore witness to an unprecedented coordination of bourgeois information media in the conduct of all kinds of slanderous antisocialist campaigns. Admittedly, many things in international relations have changed since then. However, statements made in recent weeks by U.S. representatives Kissinger and Brzezinski, as well as by President Bush himself, are warning symptoms that this crusade has far from been called off. At present, one only uses more refined forms in conducting it. We have asked RUDE PRAVO's correspondents abroad what has changed in the conduct of psychological warfare, what is the present approach of the West toward socialist countries, and what has changed in the activity of bourgeois information media."

The contributions which follow include, on 10 June, a 1,200-word article by the paper's Budapest correspondent, Vojtech Vesely, entitled "How Mark Palmer Sees It." Vesely opens his contribution by quoting excerpts from a new book by Mark Palmer, U.S. ambassador to Hungary, which appeared in the supplement of the 27 May issue of *MAGYAR HIRLAP*, and in which Palmer discusses the "new chances" for American and Western policy in the East European countries. Vesely quotes Palmer's statements about the need to increase Western physical and spiritual presence in these countries and to use economic and credit policy as a vehicle for the promotion of reforms in them. Although Vesely concedes that Palmer's strategy contains "some positive elements" (such as the emphasis on detente), the "overall concept and its orientation," he says, "is essentially a dusted-off version of the old plans for a so-called differentiated approach, based on 'rewarding' and 'punishing' individual countries according to whether they meet or refuse to meet expectations."

Vesely goes on to say that, in its approach toward Hungary, the West proceeds exactly according to Palmer's intentions: "It is waging an extensive 'crusade' adapted to contemporary realities and conducted by non-violent forms. Of course, insofar as economic coercion arising from the country's high indebtedness can be described as an element of nonviolent influence.

"A characteristic feature of this influence is that it is not conducted predominantly from the outside, from abroad, as until recently. Its point of gravity has been transferred into the Hungarian society. The Hungarian service of Radio Free Europe has its own permanent correspondent accredited in Budapest. A television reporter recently put to him a paradoxical question on what he intends to do there, for the things which he used to preach from Munich for many years can now be found by a Hungarian in his local press and free of atmospheric disturbances....

"What 'things' are these? Products of journalism which exaggerate every mistake or shortcoming of the past 3 or 4 decades, dramatize them in colorful terms, and, needless to say, bill them as the 'essence of socialism.' The evident aim is to frustrate sincere and honest efforts at eliminating the sources of deformations and to channel the released creative energies of society into the position of the negation of the entire system, along with the party and its leading role. In the recent sallies against security bodies, which were nurtured by some alternative groups, one could even find signs of Bakuninite anarchy.

"Almost every day, the public here is shocked by the revelation of some 'case' from the fifties and, most recently, also from the period of the 'Kadar dictatorship.' In the interview which Imre Poszgay, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee Politburo, gave to Radio Free Europe (27 May 1989),



one could even hear the reporter's suggestive question whether it was possible to achieve renewal with the present general secretary of the Central Committee, Karoly Grosz....

"This only illustrates the Hungary of today. Pressures (from home but also, variously camouflaged, from the outside) dictate an accelerated pace of changes. They compel the adoption of decisions and law amendments which provide for changes under the pressure of time, without nationwide discussions, which are presently termed as undemocratic.

"Hungarian society is intensively searching for ways out of the crisis, for future specifically Hungarian forms and mechanisms of a democratic political life and of economic prosperity. It is in a state of ferment. Hidden, imperceptible forms of psychological warfare are supposed to 'integrate' foreign-made elements into the live tissue of this process."

The contributions published on 21 June include a 1,600-word article by Zdenek Porybny, RUDE PRAVO correspondent in Washington, entitled "The Next Target—Eastern Europe?," and a 1,100-word article by Pavol Minarik, the paper's correspondent in Warsaw, entitled "Violation of Polish Sovereignty."

Porybny's article deals with the Bush administration's approach to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. He opens the article by quoting Bush's remarks of 24 May, made in a speech to the graduates of the U.S. Coast Guard Academy, about the "final chapter of the communist experiment" now being written and about communism being "recognized, even by many within the communist world itself, as a failed system."

"Hearing such statements uttered by a U.S. President," Porybny continues, "is nothing new. His predecessor in office, Ronald Reagan, started his 8 years in the White House by announcing 'the dumping of communism on the rubbish heap of history.' However, he ended his term by concluding with the Soviet Union the treaty on eliminating intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and by making a trip to Moscow.

"In other words, it was not communism that found itself on the rubbish heap of history during Reagan's presidency, but Reagan's policy of escalated arms race and confrontation with the Soviet Union.

"As can be seen, President Bush has not learned much from this. On the one hand he proclaims that communism has failed, but in the same speech he claims that 'we want to see perestroika succeed; we want to see the policy of glasnost and perestroika—which, so far, has been a revolution imposed from top down—institutionalized within the Soviet Union.' If everything continues successfully, President Bush promises, then we will 'move away from containment (that is, containment of

socialism—editor's note) to the effort to integrate the Soviets in the community of nations and let them share the fruits of international cooperation.'

"Disregarding the fact that the Soviet Union and the other socialist states have long been integrated in the community of nations—even though not yet in all financial and economic associations—the question remains whether Bush really thinks that the purpose of restructuring in the Soviet Union is to speed up the 'eclipse of communism.'

"If he perceived the socialist system merely as a rigid, administrative-command system deviating from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, then he would be right: The aim of restructuring really is the eclipse of this outdated model of socialism and the freeing of the creative forces of the socialist society.

"However, the U.S. President and the ideological forces with which he is linked do not approach restructuring from this position. They are not interested in making socialism stronger. Their attitude is purely pragmatic—they see restructuring as an opportunity to assert their own global interests. Spokesmen for the American right, such as Patrick Buchanan, therefore point out to the President that the aim of U.S. policy should not be to support this or that line of restructuring and the position of this or that group in the Soviet leadership, but to destroy the entire political and economic system which emerged from the October Revolution.

"However, American kremlinologists and politicians realize at the same time that a change in the system in the USSR is not in sight and are therefore turning their attention to where, as they believe, success is more likely to be achieved. At this moment, in their opinion, this is the case in the East European socialist countries.

"One of those who call for active U.S. interference in developments in Eastern Europe is Zbigniew Brzezinski, former adviser to President Carter, whose influence on the present U.S. President is growing, according to all indications."

Porbybny goes on to quote from a Brzezinski article in the WASHINGTON POST of 11 June, in which he suggested that the United States take advantage of the Soviet Union's present difficulties to increase its influence on developments in Eastern Europe and in which he recommended that, in connection with his forthcoming visits to Poland and Hungary, Bush tie Western economic assistance to economic and political reforms in these countries. Porybny also cites the "recommendations" given to Bush by other "influential Sovietologists" (Michael Mandelbaum, Radek Sikorski), according to whom American policy should focus on changing the system in the small socialist countries first.

Porybny continues: "The interference by U.S. diplomats in the course of the election campaign in Poland, as well as the financial support for Solidarity by some Western countries, against which Polish authorities protested without effect, have shown that the United States does not intend to take a neutral stand. President Bush's words at his press conference on 8 June about a differentiated approach to the socialist countries according to how their policy is evaluated by Washington was only a confirmation of the intentions of American policy in this entire region."

In concluding, Porybny cites Sovietologist Michael Mandelbaum's words that the United States should support in the socialist countries "changes that could result in the weakening of ties between the Soviet Union and the other European socialist countries" and that it should not support changes that could make the Soviet Union stronger economically. He concludes the article by saying that "a lot suggests that precisely such views are finding an echo in circles of the Bush administration."

Warsaw correspondent Pavol Minarik's article deals with "Western interference in internal Polish affairs" during the recent election campaign. He points out that "the staff of some Western embassies in Warsaw actively participated in the pre-election rallies and events of the opposition" and that they "assisted Solidarity's candidates as advisers and instructors." He goes on to refer to Western fund-raising campaigns in support of the Polish opposition and to the "considerable sums" that had been donated by various Western institutions, organizations, and trade unions. An unnamed representative of the U.S. Administration is quoted as having "admitted" that Solidarity receives \$1 million a year. Minarik also notes that the Polish opposition has received printing equipment from the West and that many of its election posters, fliers, and stickers were produced for it abroad.

Minarik continues: "Prior to the elections, several Western emissaries have appeared in Poland to support the opposition's election campaign on the spot. For example, at the invitation of the U.S. Embassy, the former presidential adviser and well-known anticommunist Zbigniew Brzezinski suddenly turned up in Warsaw. In a television and radio broadcast of Solidarity he said that, if the opposition did not win, it could have unpleasant consequences for the whole country! What was involved was thus nothing else but gross interference in Polish elections."

In the remaining part of his article, Minarik discusses Western support for "opposition structures" in Poland. He says: "No opposition activity organized against a socialist country can be implemented without planned material or other 'assistance' from the West. Developments in Poland in the years 1980-81 confirmed this. The American Central Intelligence Agency, in particular, played a prominent part in the plans for the liquidation of socialism in the country. It used, and continues to use, various methods, from strictly covert up to overt forms

of subversion, which pursue a single aim: To interfere in the internal affairs of the Polish People's Republic with the intention of subverting its social system.

"These centers played a major role in the creation of the germs of Polish opposition structures. Since the mid-seventies, they have been providing them not only with instructions and financial and political support, but they have also been safeguarding their links with abroad. Under the cloak of exchange of information, the Polish-language periodical KULTURA is being published in Paris with CIA money. It is characterized by exclusively anti-Polish and antisocialist propaganda. Of late, it has been possible to purchase this monthly also at Solidarity's news stands. The last issue, for example, carries an extensive article by Zbigniew Brzezinski entitled *Agony of Communism*.... Were it to be true what Brzezinski wrote about the socialist world on 27 pages of the journal, none of us who live 'behind the curtain' and not 'in the free world' would have a right to breath, walk, in brief, the right to live.

"During his recent stay in Poland, Brzezinski expounded this theory of his in several lectures, including one at the Catholic University in Lublin, but also on other occasions.

"The emissaries who have recently been visiting Poland also included Leszek Kolakowski, who emigrated to Great Britain 20 years ago. In a lecture at Warsaw University a few days ago, he directed his main attention against the Polish United Workers Party and its organ, TRYBUNA LUDU. He, too, came in order to support the ambitions of the opposition directly on the spot.

"According to Polish data, some 400 disparate centers have been set up in the West, mainly in the United States and the FRG, since the beginning of this decade in support of political opposition in Poland. Over this period they have sent to Poland tens of millions of dollars, without which the activity of the opposition would obviously be hardly effective. In all these years, the volume of Polish broadcasts by Western radio stations exceeded Polish radio broadcasts threefold. All of this pursued a single aim—to undermine the socialist system in this country, to contribute to explosions of unrest, to demonstrations, and anticommunist sentiments. Although only a few days ago a Solidarity spokesman publicly declared that Western financial, material, and political support is merely an expression of sympathy for Solidarity and Lech Walesa, it is nothing but gross violation of Polish sovereignty."

The last installment of RUDE PRAVO correspondents' replies to the question whether anything had changed in the policy of "crusade" against the socialist countries, published on 29 June, includes a 1,100-word article by Belgrade correspondent Petr Vana entitled "In the Flames of Special War." The article deals with the "reactionary forces' crusade" against Yugoslavia, which is said to be directed against the country's "socialist

orientation," the self-management system, as well as its foreign policy of nonalignment. According to Vana, "the point of gravity of anti-Yugoslav operations has been transferred into the country in the last decade." To illustrate this fact, he points out that the same demands for a pluralist system in Yugoslavia which Zbigniew Brzezinski used to make in the early seventies "are now echoed on the pages of the Yugoslav press but also in the programs of the new federations and associations that have emerged, in particular, in Slovenia and Croatia and which make no secret of their intention to operate as political parties."

Vana also refers to the activities of "nationalists of all hues" in Yugoslavia, "especially in Kosovo," which "fit into the concept of the special war" being waged against the country, and to "economic instruments of pressure" on Yugoslavia, which "take advantage of the country's indebtedness."

Speaking about the anti-Yugoslav "crusade," Vana also says: "One of the main targets of attacks is the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA]. The crusade has reached such dimensions and such a degree of seriousness that in April the SFRY Government issued a comprehensive document 'On the Essence, Causes, and Assessment of Attacks on the Concept of All-People's Defense and the YPA.' All the attacks included in the plans of psychological warfare, which are now often proclaimed in public, especially in Slovenia, are being carried out primarily because the YPA is an all-people's army and because its mission is to defend the unity and security of the country and its social system."

"Hence the demands for a 'republic-based,' that is, in fact, national division of the Army and its actual disintegration, hence the presentation of 'civil service' as something absolute, hence the demand for 'de-ideologizing' the Army by eliminating from it League of Communists of Yugoslavia bodies, and so forth."

The last installment of the RUDE PRAVO series of articles also includes 900-word "closing remarks" by RUDE PRAVO commentator Milan Jelinek. In these remarks, Jelinek replies to reader Stanislav V. from Prague, who sent RUDE PRAVO a letter voicing "disapproval" of the series. In this letter Stanislav V. reportedly wrote that, after reading the first two installments of the series, he was "literally shocked." Stanislav V. then went on to say: "Does this series mean that we are abandoning new political thinking in international relations, an inseparable part of which is renouncing the creation or confirmation of the 'image of an enemy' and tenaciously looking for what states of different social systems have in common, regardless of whether the new political thinking has already struck roots in these countries or not?... Although the facts mentioned by individual correspondents evidently are beyond dispute, what is debatable, in my opinion, is the decision to publish about it a series for a million readers. I do not have any doubt that it will be welcomed primarily by those who disagree with Comrade Gorbachev's policy of new political thinking..."

In his reply Jelinek says that "closing eyes to the fact that anticommunist, antisocialist, and anti-Soviet campaigns are escalating in the world would be not only silly but also dangerous. The reason for this is plain—there exist political circles in the West which still see 'an enemy' in the socialist countries, which have not yet assimilated the new political thinking, and which, precisely for this reason, have not called off the 'crusade.'"

"You contend that the facts cited in RUDE PRAVO are evidently beyond dispute, but it is debatable, in your opinion, whether it was right to inform the Czechoslovak public about them. There is not only a logical inconsistency in your sentence. Why should we keep quiet about what, even in your opinion, is beyond dispute, why should we not tell the truth? After all, the new political thinking has not annulled and has not called in question one of the basic elements of glasnost and the policy of public information—that a spade should be called a spade. If we proceeded in any other way, we would be pursuing an ostrich policy, we would be burying our head in the sand. And that, esteemed reader, surely is not what you want."

**Honecker Sends Condolence Message on Kadar Death**  
*LD0607123489 East Berlin ADN International Service  
in German 1112 GMT 6 Jul 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee [SED] and chairman of the GDR's Council of State has sent the following telegram to Rezso Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party: It is with deep regret that the SED Central Committee and the people of the GDR have learned the news of the death of Comrade Janos Kadar.

On behalf of our party and of all the workers in the GDR, we convey our heartfelt sympathy at this sad loss.

As long-standing party leader and internationally respected statesman, Janos Kadar rendered great service to the shaping of socialism in Hungary, the strengthening of cooperation and fraternal relations among the socialist countries, and the implementation of the Hungarian People's Republic's peace-loving foreign policy. He played a great and highly valued personal role in the development of close friendly relations between our parties, countries, and peoples.

**Honecker's Speech at Rally in Magnitogorsk**  
*AU0507095589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND  
in German 30 Jun 89 pp 3-4*

[Speech by Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, at a rally in the Magnitogorsk Culture Palace on 29 June, marking the 60th founding anniversary of the city and the metallurgical combine: "Relations of Unprecedented Intensity and Diversity"]

[Text] Dear Soviet Comrades and Friends!

Dear citizens of Magnitogorsk!

It is with great pleasure that I have accepted the invitation to take part in the ceremonies marking the 60th founding anniversary of the city and the metallurgical combine of Magnitogorsk. I thank you sincerely for the cordiality and the touching feelings of friendship that have been shown to me and my entourage from the first moment of our visit to the historically important city of Magnitogorsk. At the same time, it is also a great pleasure for me to convey to you, dear people of Magnitogorsk, the most cordial congratulations and fraternal combat greetings of the communists and all citizens in the GDR on your anniversary.

The name of the city and the combine, Magnitogorsk, will be forever connected with your country's unique rise to a powerful socialist industrial state which holds a leading position in science, technology, and culture. I have personally repeatedly seen for myself that 60 years of Magnitogorsk represent 6 decades of heroic construction work and outstanding achievements, attained by

several generations of the Soviet worker class for the cause of socialism. They also represent some pages in the history of internationalist support and solidarity of the international proletariat with the Soviet working people.

**With Enthusiasm for Building the New World**

In the summer of 1931, I was lucky, just as other young German Communists were, to be able to help set up the metallurgical combine as part of an international brigade. Irrespective of the initial difficult circumstances, living in shacks, tents, and mud huts, we worked with enthusiasm to build the new socialist world, side by side with Soviet Communists, Komsomol members, and representatives of all nationalities of the Soviet Union.

A greetings message, published on 17 November 1930, of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Association of Germany to the builders of Magnitogorsk, paid tribute to the cooperation of internationalist forces in building this huge combine, and said that the young Communists of Germany are following with maximum attention the most improbable efforts in building the metallurgical combine and are enthusiastic about the intention to fulfill the 5-year plan in 4 years. It says that we young workers swear, with our older brothers, that we are ready to defend your fatherland, the Soviet Union, everywhere and at all times. The telegram in which the chairman of the Communist Party of Germany, our unforgotten Ernst Thaelmann, sent his congratulations on the initial pass at the first furnace in February 1932 was an expression of affinity of the German worker class and the German Communists with the builders of Magnitogorsk.

**We Will Never Forget This Heroic Time**

We will never forget this heroic time. Despite economic backwardness and the imperialist encirclement of the country, this bold work of industrialization was completed, and thus the foundation was created for a new future of the Soviet people, for the reliable protection of the achievements of socialism. During the Great Patriotic War, here in the Urals, the "iron heart" of the Soviet Union beat for the victory over the barbaric fascist aggressor.

I saw your city for the first time again in 1971. Huge changes had been made. Where formerly the pick and spade had been used, and where pneumatic hammers had been in operation day and night, there was now a huge metallurgical combine which is proud to bear the name of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. Dozens of other industrial enterprises, including Uralmash, which we also helped to build, demonstrated the power of socialist creativity. Today, almost 2 decades later, the city and the combine located between Europe and Asia have grown more, and you have started doing new tasks in your combine, such as changing over to converter steel, which plays such a great role in the restructuring of your beautiful country.



I am sure you will understand that my visit to Magnitogorsk now moves me all the more since you made me an honorary citizen on the occasion of the 60th founding anniversary. I also view this as an expression of esteem for the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and the GDR, and I thank you wholeheartedly for this.

It is well-known in our country that your combine produces about 40 million tons of metallurgical products every year, and is thus the biggest industrial enterprise of its type in the USSR. By implementing the program on the complex reconstruction of the production facilities, the importance of the combine on a national scale is being further enhanced. Thus, you bear considerable responsibility for implementing the task set by the CPSU to accelerate socio-economic development in the USSR, to add to the people's well-being, and to make socialism even more attractive. I congratulate you most cordially, dear citizens of Magnitogorsk, on all that you have done in this respect.

#### Full Support for Restructuring

The successful implementation of the resolutions adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference is of far-reaching importance not only for the USSR, but also for consolidating world socialism and strengthening peace. That is our firm conviction. Thus, the course of restructuring and renewal of Soviet society has the full support of the SED and the GDR people. May the communists and all working people in the Soviet Union be successful in implementing their projects. We are resolved to give every bit of support to this process in the USSR, the country with which we have had close ties from the beginning of its existence.

Dear Soviet Comrades:

It is deeply symbolic that our visit is taking place at a time when the GDR workers, through new deeds, are preparing for the 40th anniversary of the founding of the first worker-peasant state on German soil on 7 October this year. At the same time, they are considering the 12th SED Congress in May 1990, which will discuss and decide on the further shaping of the developed socialist society.

Regarding the GDR, we can say that the ideas of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels have been honorably fulfilled in their native country. With the development of our Republic, socialism has been firmly and irrevocably established on German soil. As the result of a great process of revolutionary restructuring, the GDR today is a modern socialist state with developed industry, agriculture, science, and culture. It is marked by stability and dynamism, a high material and cultural living standard of the people, developed democracy and the rule of law, as well as social security for all.

#### We Will Always Reliably Protect Socialism

Our road has not been easy. Being the forward-based bastion of socialism on the dividing line with the imperialist system in Europe, we are in the immediate vicinity of the capitalist German state, the FRG. We are still exposed to constant attacks and diverse attempts to harass us by those who have not given up their objective to eliminate socialism on German soil. This is proved by the fact that they are undertaking particular efforts at present to make us understand the "values" of capitalism, even though these "values" are totally irrelevant, because they entail new poverty for millions of people. However, they will never reach their goal of spoiling the GDR citizens' satisfaction with socialism. We will continue to always work for strengthening and reliably protecting worker-peasant power. This is confirmed by our unshakable alliance with the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact countries.

As you know, we have placed our economic and social growth on a qualitatively new basis by taking the course adopted at the eighth SED Congress in 1971 of the unity of economic and social policy and the comprehensive intensification of our national economy. We have made the development of production forces, in particular the increase of labor productivity, the decisive yardstick of our progress.

#### No Change in Well-Tried Things

The results are particularly marked by the fact that the produced national income has more than doubled since 1971. This has been accompanied by a constant reduction in the use of work time, materials, raw materials, and energy. For us, economic growth has never been an end in itself, but, fully in keeping with the basic values of socialism, has always served the people's benefit. This is most impressively illustrated by our housing construction program which will enable us to solve the social problem of housing until 1990.

We implement our policy by creatively applying the generally valid laws of socialist building, taking into account our specific national conditions and requirements, our traditions, our combat experience, and our possibilities. We consider the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR to be a historic process of far-reaching political, economic, social, and intellectual and cultural change. Accordingly, we carry out our course of unifying continuity and renewal, and in doing so, we do not allow well-tried things to be changed, but give up whatever hinders us in moving forward. That is shown by the eighth SED Central Committee meeting a week ago.

Dear Friends and Comrades!

In close community with the USSR and the other socialist countries, the GDR works as a cornerstone of socialism and peace in the center of our continent. It is our highest principle that war must never again start from

German soil. We consider it an acknowledgement and encouragement that during his visit to the FRG, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev paid tribute to the GDR's awareness of its responsibility for peace and progress in the center of Europe as a stable and growing factor of the Helsinki process.

By concrete deeds, our Republic proposes to continue the disarmament process in the nuclear and conventional fields without interruption. That is shown by the incipient unilateral troop reduction of our National People's Army and the respective military equipment, our country's initiatives for creating chemical- and nuclear-free zones and a zone of confidence in central Europe, as well as many other steps marked by common sense and realism in international relations. On its road to a common home, Europe does not need a policy of stepped-up armament and confrontation, but it needs a policy of disarmament, cooperation, and detente, a policy of peace. The upcoming 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II, and the 48th anniversary of the invasion of the Soviet Union by Hitlerite fascism, as well as the strong upsurge of neo-Nazis in the FRG under the leadership of a former SS-man in the "Leibstandarte [guard] of Adolf Hitler" should be a serious reminder to everybody.

#### **Absolutely and Fully in Favor of the Soviet Union's Peace Initiatives**

The GDR absolutely and fully supports the Soviet Union's peace and disarmament initiatives that were presented by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev and are marked by great responsibility for world peace. The policy of socialism attracts the peoples. It has already influenced many and has improved the political climate.

Dear Soviet Comrades:

In the 40th year of the GDR's existence, we corroborate the unshakable alliance of our party, our state, and our people with the CPSU, the Soviet Union, and the Soviet people. We will never forget that 20 million sons and daughters of the Soviet Union, as the main force of the anti-Hitler coalition in the fight against the barbaric fascist aggressor, gave their lives for the victory which also brought the German people liberation from Nazi tyranny. Every attempt to touch the firm ties of friendship between our peoples and parties is doomed to failure.

My meeting with Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow yesterday [28 June] is another milestone in the development and deepening of relations between the GDR and the Soviet Union. These relations are marked by unprecedented intensity and diversity. Their further development is for us a matter of our hearts and minds. Our two socialist countries are undertaking systematic efforts to raise our cooperation to an even higher level. Yesterday, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev and I stressed our determination to consistently continue on this road, based on our common view about the basic problems of foreign policy and the building of socialism.

The dimension of our cooperation in the economic field is really impressive. The USSR is the Republic's most important foreign trade partner, just as the GDR is the Soviet Union's largest foreign trade partner. Our cooperation is increasingly determined by the broad application and use of key technologies, particularly microelectronics and modern computer technology. With the agreed concept of economic and scientific-technological cooperation up until the year 2000, our two countries have set new tasks for themselves reaching far into the future.

The 160 existing agreements on direct relations between combines, enterprises, and scientific institutions serve to open up our capabilities more comprehensively. More agreements will be concluded in the near future. Thus, about 50 percent of the GDR working people are directly involved in direct cooperation with the Soviet Union.

#### **Partnerships in All Areas**

The Chelyabinsk region traditionally has a valuable share in the productive relations between our two countries. For example, your metallurgical and mechanical engineering products are highly valued in the GDR. On the other hand, the delivery of our diverse industrial products has helped to strengthen your region's economic capability. We are particularly pleased that the sister city agreement between Brandenburg and Magnitogorsk opened another worthy page in the diverse relations between the worker class and the people of our two countries, and I am deeply convinced that the Brandenburg youth will maintain diverse partnership relations with the Magnitogorsk youth in all areas. Therefore, visit the GDR!

Dear people of Magnitogorsk:

Allied with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, the GDR will continue to do everything in its power so that socialism becomes more effective and more attractive, and its potential for peace manifests itself even more.

I thank you most cordially once again for the unforgettable hours of our visit to Magnitogorsk. I wish you new successes in your work for the Soviet people's benefit, and I wish you and your families the best of health, happiness, and creativity.

Long live the unshakable friendship and close cooperation between the parties and peoples, between the working people of the GDR and the Soviet Union.

Long live socialism and peace!

**Kessler Evaluates Central Committee Session**  
*AU0507180189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND  
in German 1-2 Jul 89 p 8*

[ADN report: "Evaluation of the Eighth Central Committee Session in Defense Ministry; Heinz Kessler Met With Generals, Admirals, Officers"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Generals, admirals, and officers discussed the tasks resulting from the eighth session of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] for the National People's Army, the GDR Border Troops, and Civil Defense at a conference in the Defense Ministry. The conference was chaired by Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and minister of national defense.

The participants received with great satisfaction the report on the meeting between the leading GDR and USSR representatives, Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev, in Moscow. It was an impressive expression of the firm willingness to purposefully develop the traditional high-level relations between the two parties and states for the benefit of the peoples.

Colonel General Horst Bruenner, deputy defense minister and chief of the Political Main Administration of the National People's Army expressed the opinion that the Army members, border soldiers, and civil employees always met their responsibility for securing peace and socialism with great commitments and initiatives. They stood the test in political and combat training, in the ready-alert system, in the combat and border service, in the national economy, and in the fields of disarmament and confidence-building. Political-ideological, military-organizational, technical, economic, and social factors which have to be tackled as a whole are also connected with the future tasks, he stated.

Discussions during the seminar focused on the communists' tasks to prepare the 12th SED Congress, the development in the armed forces and the implementation of the military doctrines of the Warsaw Pact states and the GDR. It is imperative to meet all requirements by comprehensive, high-quality intensification. It remains the supreme principle to do everything to ensure that war will never again start from German soil, but only peace, the participants stressed. They paid tribute to the GDR's successful development and growth in the past 3 decades and pointed out the socialist armed forces' responsibility for peace policy. As in the past, they will also make their concrete contribution to strengthening socialism and to protect the peaceful construction in the alliance with the fraternal armies.

The soldiers commitment to the SED's policy and to GDR socialism is expressed by the commitment to continued participation in the people's movement to prepare the 12th SED Congress by fulfilling the class mandate in an exemplary manner.

In the course of the conference, the members of the SED Central Committee, Prof Wolfgang Bierman, director general of the Carl Zeiss Jena Combine, and Gunter Rettner, director of the International Politics and Economics Department of the SED Central Committee, and Dr Kurt Fenske, first deputy minister of foreign trade, gave lectures on the requirements on the path toward the implementation of the decision of the latest Central Committee session.

**Talks Held With USSR State Planning Committee**

**Schuerer, Maslyukov Head Talks**

*LD0507150989 East Berlin ADN International Service  
in German 1342 GMT 5 Jul 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Discussions between the GDR and the USSR on the coordination of plans for the period 1991 to 1995 began in Berlin today at the level of the central planning organs.

The two countries' delegations are led by Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission; and Yuriy Maslyukov, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee.

The agreements in principle between Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev of September 1988 and June 1989 on further deepening fraternal cooperation, particularly for the closer interconnection of the national economies of the GDR and the USSR and of their scientific potential form the basis of the talks.

Both sides emphasized the importance of the "concept for economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the GDR and the USSR to the year 2000," which was agreed on last February, and of the "complex program of scientific-technical progress of CEMA to the year 2000," in which the main directions of the development of cooperation in research and production up until the next century are marked out.

Economic experts from both countries are participating in the 2-day discussions.

On the agenda are visits to combines and enterprises in the Dresden Bezirk. The Soviet delegation arrived in the GDR capital early this morning.

**Honecker Meets With Maslyukov**

*LD0607141489 East Berlin ADN International Service  
in German 1104 GMT 6 Jul 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR and the USSR will continue to cooperate very closely in building up socialism. This was reiterated during a meeting in Berlin today



between Erich Honecker and Yuriy Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee.

The two officials held an exchange of opinions on the high level of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the two countries and on the tasks for its continued development.

Erich Honecker stressed that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and all GDR people support the course of the 27th CPSU Congress and of the 19th All-Union CPSU Congress for the renewal of Soviet society. Prime importance will continue to be accorded to the extension of cooperation in all areas of social life. This is particularly true with regard to the close interweaving of the national economies and the scientific potentials of the GDR and the USSR. The most important thing here is that cooperation should be increasingly molded by the creation and broad application of key technologies, in particular of microelectronics and computer technology.

The GDR is determined to develop the proven forms of cooperation and at the same time to tread new paths in the resolution of tasks already accomplished, including through the extension of scientific and production cooperation in the framework of direct relations among combines, associations of producers, scientific establishments, and other organizations on an economically sound, contractual basis. The coordination of the national economic plans with the main partner—the USSR—will continue to be accorded prime importance on the part of the GDR, Erich Honecker continued.

Yuriy Maslyukov explained that the strengthening and development of general fraternal relations with the GDR is of irrevocable concern to the CPSU. New tasks, reaching far into the future, for deepening specialization and cooperation, are being implemented, the technical level of production and of reciprocal deliveries is being raised, and advanced forms of foreign trade cooperation unfold. He stressed the importance of coordinating national economic plans, which continue to be the main means of balancing economic and scientific-technical relations over a longer period of time.

Yuriy Maslyukov reported on the advanced level of this work between the two countries for the period 1991-95, which is the main reason for this present visit to the GDR. In this stable and dynamic cooperation, there are increasing trends toward highest level technologies, a perfection of the structure of foreign trade relations, and the intensifications of cooperation between enterprises, combines, and associations, particularly in the high intelligence production sectors. There was agreement to purposefully continue the plan coordination over the coming weeks and months.

On the same day, Yuriy Maslyukov was received by GDR Premier Willi Stoph.

The two sides stressed that the coordination of the economic plan provides a basis for the stable development of cooperation in industry, science, and technology, through to the securing of trade that meets mutual needs. This is being carried out in a concentrated way at government level between the central planning bodies of the two countries, at the level of sectors of the economy and of industry, and of combine, associations, and other organizations within the framework of direct relations.

Stoph and Maslyukov reaffirmed the striving of the GDR and the USSR to develop economic and scientific-technological cooperation at a high level in the next 5-year plan period, and, to increase trade and develop cooperative relations.

#### FRG's Seiters Continues Visit, Delivers Speeches

##### Fischer Hosts Luncheon

AU0607095389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND  
in German 5 Jul 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Oskar Fischer Gave Luncheon for Rudolf Seiters"]

[Text] Berlin—GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer gave a luncheon for Rudolf Seiters, federal minister for special tasks and chief of the FRG Chancellor's Office, in the Unter den Linden Palace in Berlin on Tuesday [4 July].

Taking part in the luncheon were Joachim Herrmann, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]; Guenter Maleuda, deputy GDR State Council chairman; Herbert Weiz, deputy Council of Ministers chairman; Frank-Joachim Herrmann, state secretary and chief of the chancellery of the State Council chairman, and other figures of GDR social life.

During the luncheon, Oskar Fischer and Rudolf Seiters made toasts.

In the morning, Rudolf Seiters went for a walk around the Berlin Nikolai quarter, and in the afternoon, he visited the Pergamon Museum.

##### Fischer Toast at Luncheon

AU0607113089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND  
in German 5 Jul 89 p 2

[Toast by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer at a luncheon given for Rudolf Seiters, FRG minister for special tasks and chief of the FRG Chancellor's Office, in the Unter den Linden Palace in Berlin on 4 July]

[Text] Dear Mr Federal Minister:

Gentlemen:

Dear comrades and friends:



It is a pleasure for me to welcome you, Mr Minister, and your entourage in the GDR once again. To begin with, I wish you much success in your new office. I welcome this first meeting with you. Our talks have confirmed that we will have the same businesslike basis of useful and sound cooperation as we had with your predecessor, Minister Schaeuble.

We discussed a broad spectrum of interesting problems. There are identical views and divergent positions, as was to be expected. However, I note with satisfaction that we are in agreement on both countries' responsibility for peace and security.

The GDR and the FRG have made a substantial contribution to bringing about the treaty on the elimination of Soviet and U.S. intermediate-range missiles. This course of arms reduction must be continued. To this end, it is necessary for both sides to bring every influence to bear to arrive at further disarmament steps.

Proceeding from the agreed principle that everything must be done so that war will never again start from German soil, but only peace, we should examine time and again what both German states can do individually or jointly for disarmament and detente. That is a high moral obligation, and this would also be in accordance with the Basic Treaty and all the documents that have been agreed on since then. The odds now are for disarmament, detente, and cooperation. A policy that is oriented toward nuclear weapons and military strength must belong to the past. What is required today are decisions of those who bear political responsibility, decisions in favor of the mutual incapacity to attack, security partnership, and peaceful cooperation.

The Warsaw Pact states have presented far-reaching realistic proposals in this respect, and they have stressed their intention by resolutions on unilateral disarmament, which have meanwhile been implemented. Now an attitude of NATO is required which must move away from the doctrine of nuclear deterrence and modernization. A different approach just is not modern, and it prevents detente which is vitally important.

The global changes of recent years have confirmed our optimism in the GDR that despite existing complicated problems, it is possible to intensify the transition from confrontation to cooperation, and to make peaceful coexistence and detente durable.

The negotiations in Vienna on conventional disarmament and confidence building can and must be conducted swiftly, and must lead to results on the basis of equal security as soon as possible.

We propose that both German states, Europe, and the world should be denuclearized.

In this respect, we continue to attach great importance to creating a nuclear-free corridor, a zone of confidence and security, and a zone free of chemical weapons.

Its implementation would help to diminish military confrontation in the center of Europe, and to reduce and move apart the potentials on the line where the two military alliances meet.

We are in favor of the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act as a whole, so that the CSCE process can be preserved and consolidated as the most important element of European detente policy.

The development of good-neighborly relations between the GDR and the FRG makes it necessary that these principles are also unconditionally applied between them.

That also remains the basis of any type of cooperation in expanding the so-called humanitarian dimension to the CSCE process.

The GDR is in favor of a Europe of peace and cooperation. States of different social systems can and must get along with each other in the common European home. That is possible if everyone respects the other's apartment as inviolable, and if everyone who wishes to receive guests in his apartment or wishes to enjoy someone else's hospitality behaves in such a way as is necessary in a large community of different members, if things are to develop in a harmonious and useful way.

Mr Minister, in foreign policy the GDR attaches due importance to its relations with the FRG, because the climate between the two German states clearly influences the situation in Europe.

On the basis of the treaties concluded, a change for the better has come about since the seventies. It is important in this respect that the FRG accepts the realities. One must accept things as they are; history cannot be rewritten. The two German states which have different systems and are members of different alliances exist; in the higher interest of peace, they must deal with each other in a reasonable way. That would be, or is, their important contribution to a common European home.

Since Erich Honecker, Central Committee general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council, paid an official visit to the FRG in September 1987, considerable progress has been made in our relations.

We agreed on that in our talks, Mr Minister. We in the GDR are determined to continue to fill with life the statements made in the joint communique of 8 September 1987. So we do not lack good will.

Mr Minister:

We had an opportunity to discuss a number of specific problems as to how things can continue between our two countries. This remains useful and expedient and can make further progress possible which would be in both sides' interest.

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen:

I ask you to raise your glass and drink with me to

- secure peace;
- the beneficial development of relations between the GDR and the FRG;
- your health, Mr Minister, and the health of your entourage.

#### Seiters Delivers Toasts

AU0607142289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND  
in German 6 Jul 89 p 2

[Toast by Rudolf Seiters, FRG minister for special tasks and chief of the FRG Chancellor's Office, at a luncheon hosted for him by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer in the Unter den Linden Palace in Berlin on 4 July]

[Text] Dear Minister Fischer, gentlemen:

I thank you for your friendly welcome and for the hospitality extended to my entourage and me.

I welcome the opportunity to be able to continue the talks of my predecessor in office with you, Mr Minister, and subsequently with General Secretary Honecker. These talks form part of the intensified contacts that have developed between our countries in recent years, not least following General Secretary Honecker's visit to the FRG, and which include the recent visit of Federal Minister Riesenhuber and the recent talk that the Berlin Governing Mayor held with General Secretary Honecker, as well as Minister Reichelt's visit to our country beginning tomorrow [6 July].

This exchange of views at the expert and politician level is necessary for the further development of our relations, even though we will continue to disagree on basic problems and partly even hold conflicting positions. Moreover, it is important for the general development between East and West Europe.

This year, both sides in Germany will commemorate the outbreak of World War II 50 years ago. People are still suffering from the consequences today, not least we Germans—owing to the division. That is why we are responsible for mitigating the consequences and we have to undertake special efforts for the peaceful coexistence of all peoples in Europe.

In the scope of their respective alliances, both German states can make a contribution to disarmament and security efforts. As you know, at its summit meeting on

30 May 1989, NATO presented a comprehensive concept for the reduction of arms and forces. It also adopted the U.S. President's initiative for expanding and accelerating conventional arms control. The crucial problem of European security which results from the existing conventional imbalance must now be swiftly discussed in Vienna. Initial reactions from the Warsaw Pact allow us to hope for positive results. At any rate, we will do everything in our power to bring these negotiations to a satisfactory conclusion soon. In connection with the implementation of conventional disarmament, negotiations can then be resumed on the reduction of part of the U.S. and Soviet short-range missiles to equal and verifiable levels. We have a direct interest here, because we think that the Warsaw Pact's superiority in this area is particularly oppressive.

However, the real contribution that the two German states can make toward peaceful coexistence in Europe is beyond the problems of disarmament and arms control. Peace policy includes more than mere military security—we discussed this subject today. It must be our goal to create a lasting, stable, and just order under which freedom, human rights, and self-determination for all are guaranteed.

We are today witnessing far-reaching changes in Europe. Stability is only possible through change and adjustment to changing circumstances. New questions always also require new answers.

On 13 June 1989, Chancellor Kohl and General Secretary Gorbachev signed a joint statement in Bonn, which opens up new prospects in the spirit of new answers. The communique explicitly states that man with his dignity and his rights must be at the center of politics. All CSCE states are called upon to help shape the future architecture of a Europe of peace and cooperation. Some speak of a European state of peace or a common European home in this connection. What is important is that the division of Europe will ultimately be overcome.

This affects the people in the two German states in a particular way because they live along this dividing line and suffer most from the division. I am aware that this gives rise to special problems. However, these problems cannot and must not be resolved by means of violence.

The CSCE process has set new standards, not only for relations between states, but also for the relationship between states and their citizens. Thus, changes are also under way as to what is to be defined as internal matters of a state. The issues mentioned in the final document of the CSCE follow-up meeting concern all member states; the observance of human rights has become a matter of all states.

Our two states should take up the impulses provided by the CSCE process and make use of the opportunities that present themselves: By constructively shaping our relations in this spirit, we can make a specific contribution to developing a Europe of peace and cooperation.

Despite fundamental differences, we have achieved a few things through practical steps in the past. Additional impulses were provided during General Secretary Honecker's visit nearly 2 years ago, some of which have been implemented while others have not been realized. Generally speaking, a great deal has become possible and sometimes a matter of course in relations between the two German states, which were inconceivable just a few years ago. It is important to preserve what has been achieved.

However, we should not overlook the fact that people's expectations have increased as a result of progress. We must be aware of this if we want to avoid disappointment, strains, and setbacks in our relations. Fresh efforts will repeatedly be required on both sides.

Everybody knows how difficult the problems are that result from the division of Germany. Our joint responsibility for peace and the people makes it impossible for us to ignore them. I understand the talks we held today as part of efforts to face up to these problems.

Mr Minister, I raise my glass in this spirit and drink to the continuation of talks at all levels, the continuation of the policy of practical cooperation between our states, as well as to your personal well-being and the well-being of all who are present.

#### Seiters Holds News Conference

AU0607124089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND  
in German 5 Jul 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Talks Were Very Business-Like and Constructive"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—FRG Minister Rudolf Seiters called his talks in the GDR very business-like and constructive. As the minister stated at an international press conference on Tuesday [4 July], in addition to the discussion of questions of practical cooperation, differences concerning basic questions became clear, which were not kept silent about during these talks. His talks with General Secretary Erich Honecker and Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer during his first visit to Berlin are to be classified as a contribution to the continuity of mutual negotiations, Seiters said.

An exchange of views took place on the international situation and bilateral relations. East-West relations were discussed as well as the Vienna disarmament negotiations in the conventional field, which have just been started, and Mikhail Gorbachev's recent visit to the FRG.

In the bilateral fields, tribute was paid to the development in tourist traffic. We assessed this development positively, but we also pointed out that there are a number of things which we want to improve, Seiters said.

All in all, from my point of view, it was a first talk, but it continued the talks and negotiations held by my predecessor, Rudolf Seiters summarized. There is a joint

obligation to continue constructive work in this cooperation without giving up legal positions. Without blurring differences between the systems, the differences have to be clearly mentioned, he said.

The interlocutors also discussed topical negotiations in some fields, such as environmental protection. In this connection, Seiters mentioned the visit by Minister Reichelt to the FRG, which will start on Wednesday [5 July]. Concerning the planned fast connection between Berlin and Hannover, he said that both sides had expressed their interest in a speedy progress of the negotiations.

#### Transport Cooperation Discussed With CSSR

AU0607131689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND  
in German 5 Jul 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Cooperation With CSSR in Transport Sector To Be Extended"]

[Text] Prague (ADN)—Possibilities for further extending cooperation in the transport sector were discussed by the responsible GDR and CSSR ministers, Otto Arndt and Frantisek Podlena, in Prague on Tuesday [4 July]. The partners in the talk were able to note that the recently introduced measures that make it easier to pass through the border crossing points between the GDR and the CSSR constitute a considerable relief. They agreed to carry out additional projects. In the rail transport sector, the new daily service between Rostock-Berlin-Prague has proved to be a success. Among other things, the two sides agreed on measures to prepare for the electrification of the entire line in order to further improve tourist traffic between the two countries. They also agreed on tackling the task of establishing attractive transit connections, particularly between Scandinavia and southeast Europe.

On the occasion of their day of honor, Minister Otto Arndt presented outstanding CSSR railroad workers with the Distinguished Services Medal of the German Railroad in the GDR Embassy in Prague.

#### Pyongyang 13th World Youth Festival Continues

#### Honecker Greets Participants

AU0507160889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND  
in German 1-2 Jul 89 p 1

[Message from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to the participants in the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students in Pyongyang: "Powerful Stimuli to the Struggle for a Peaceful World"]

[Text] Dear delegates and guests of the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students, dear Korean friends:



On behalf of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], the GDR State Council, and all citizens of our country, I convey cordial greetings and best wishes to the participants in the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students.

The representatives of the democratic youth and student movement of all continents meet for this festival at a time when the international situation is characterized by hopeful developments. Thanks to the dedicated work of all forces of peace, reason, and realism, the world has become safer and the danger of war has been reduced. Nevertheless, there is still much to be done to make the initiated changes toward peace, disarmament, detente, and friendship among peoples irreversible. We are convinced that the worldwide struggle of the young generation for a peaceful and decent world, free of nuclear weapons, military threat, and aggression, will receive powerful stimuli from the World Festival. In this respect, the international youth movement can always rely on the GDR, which will continue to work constructively and predictably for expanding political dialogue and cooperation. With a view to the forthcoming 50th anniversary of the beginning of World War II, we are renewing the pledge to do everything so that war will never again start from German soil, but only peace.

A stable and lasting peace offers the guarantee that all peoples can shape their lives freely, with self-determination, democracy, and full sovereignty, and independent of outside interference. It also is the basis for success in the struggle against underdevelopment, racial discrimination, hunger, illiteracy, backwardness, misery, and disease, and in the struggle for social progress, a healthy environment, and the solution of all other global problems. We are certain that the democratic world youth movement will unite even more closely to reach these noble goals and will intensify its solidarity activities. In this it can always count on the initiative-rich contribution of our people and their youth.

For the first time, a world youth festival is taking place on Asian soil. This reflects the world-encompassing ideas and attractiveness of the world festival movement, which is rich in traditions. Our greetings go to the Korean hosts and the citizens of the festival city, Pyongyang, who may continue to count on the GDR's support in their work to strengthen their socialist fatherland and in their struggle for peace and detente on the Korean peninsula.

We wish all participants and guests of the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students and their hosts unforgettable and lively festival days. With this, we link the conviction that the democratic youth and students' movement of the world will continue to be most closely united in the joint struggle for peace, friendship, and anti-imperialist solidarity and will gain further strength.

In friendship!

E. Honecker,

General Secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

#### Krenz Concludes Visit

AU0507164389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND  
in German 4 Jul 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Farewell to Egon Krenz in Pyongyang"]

[Text] Pyongyang (ADN)—Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, who participated as a guest of honor in the opening of the 13th World Festival, concluded his visit to the DPRK and returned home on Monday [3 July]. Ho Tam, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea, bade him a cordial farewell at the Sunan Airport of the DPRK capital. Eberhard Aurich, first secretary of the Central Council of the Free German Youth and head of the GDR delegation to the festival, and Prof Dr Hans Maretzki, GDR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the DPRK, were present.

#### Winkelman Receives PRC Regional Officials

AU0607133989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND  
in German 5 Jul 89 p 3

[ADN report: "PRC Local Officials on Information Trip"]

[Text] East Berlin—On Tuesday [4 July], Egon Winkelman, first vice president and general secretary of the League of Friendship Among Peoples, received a delegation of Chinese regional officials. He briefed them on topical tasks to further shape the developed socialist society in the GDR in preparation for the 12th SED Congress.

#### DPRK Envoy on Korean Peninsula Peace Zone

AU0307200189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND  
in German 29 Jun 89 p 6

[ADN report: "DPRK in Favor of Peace Zone in Korean Peninsula; Ambassador Pak Yong-chan Gave News Conference in Berlin"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The urgent necessity of transforming the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free peace zone was stressed by Pak Yong-chan, DPRK ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the GDR. At a press conference on the occasion of the month of solidarity with the Korean people's anti-imperialist struggle in Berlin on Wednesday [28 June], he pointed out that the United States has transformed South Korea into a nuclear-weapons base and has further increased its troops strength there. Large-scale military maneuvers such as "Team Spirit" are an expression of this U.S. policy that aims at the continuation of tension. In this context, Pak Yong-chan recalled that the United States



instigated the war against the Korean people 39 years ago. In contrast to this, the DPRK has made various efforts to reunify the country and to ensure peace and security in the region. However, so far there has not been a positive response to the proposal on trilateral negotiations between the DPRK, the United States, and South Korea. His country's proposals to transform the cease-fire agreement between the DPRK and the United States into a peace treaty, to gradually reduce the armed forces on both sides, and to stop large-scale military maneuvers have not been taken up so far.

Pak Yong-chan thanked the SED, the GDR Government, and the GDR's people for the solidarity shown to the DPRK and for the sincere help in preparing the 13th world festival of young people and students in Pyongyang.

**Palestinian Red Crescent President Received**  
*AU0507182889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND  
in German 30 Jun 89 p 8*

[ADN report: "President of Palestinian Red Crescent Received"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Thursday [29 June], GDR Health Minister Klaus Thielmann received Fathi 'Arafat, president of the Palestinian Red Crescent, in Berlin. The minister briefed the guest on the working people's mass initiative to implement the decisions of the 11th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in preparation for the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. The partners in the talk praised the friendly relations and cooperation in the health sector, including the training, further education, and special treatment of Palestinian citizens.

Fathi 'Arafat noted that the resolutions of the 19th Meeting of the Palestine National Council and the Palestinian peace initiative, which was announced by Yasir 'Arafat, initiated a new stage in the struggle to implement the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, and considerably strengthened the PLO's international position. Minister Thielmann assured his guest that the GDR would unwaveringly continue the Palestinian people's just struggle and consistently support the strengthening of the international position of the state of Palestine.

On the same day, Fathi 'Arafat, who is visiting the GDR at the invitation of the German Red Cross, met with its president, Gerhard Rehwald, and discussed the tasks and objectives of the Red Cross associations.

**Chile's Teitelboim Holds News Conference**  
*AU0607140689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND  
in German 5 Jul 89 p 3*

[Klaus Steiniger report: "Chile's Communists Are Actively Working for the Unity of the Entire Opposition"]

[Text] East Berlin—On Tuesday [4 July], at an international news conference in Berlin, Volodia Teitelboim, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile, reported on the party's 15th

congress, which was recently held illegally. He started by making the remark that during his talk with Erich Honecker, it became clear again that the GDR has been one of the strongest elements of solidarity with Chile's people since the first day of the Pinochet putsch, and that it maintains this position as long as his country is oppressed by fascism.

Referring to the strategy set down by the 15th party congress for the Chilean presidential elections, which are scheduled for 14 December, Teitelboim stressed that the Communist Party will support the candidacy of Christian Democrat Patricio Aylwin. Victory over the dictatorship can be achieved only by uniform action of the entire opposition. Therefore, his party is in favor of a joint presidential candidate, uniform lists for the parliamentary elections, and a joint program of all opposition forces. If the opposition were split, there would be the danger of a victory of the junta's candidate for president; its unity, however, will certainly make it possible to avert this danger, Volodia Teitelboim stated.

The Communist Party has based its proposals for an emergency platform, which were presented by the 15th party congress and are to serve as a joint program, on three elementary demands: complete democratization of the country and disassembly of the fascist apparatus at all levels; meeting the most urgent economic needs of the majority of the nation; investigating the serious human rights violations committed since 1973 and punishing the main culprits.

At the 15th congress, the policy of the people's rebellion of the masses, which cannot be equated in any way with an armed struggle for conquering power, was affirmed and clearly defined, Teitelboim said. Since it is impossible to completely establish democracy through the elections, the struggle has to be continued, particularly because Pinochet has announced his intention to remain commander in chief of the armed forces until 1998. While the opposition is now reaching from the workers class to lower middle-class circles to the medium bourgeoisie and parts of the upper middle class, the main supports of the regime currently are the oligarchy, the bourgeoisie of the merchants [kompradorenbourgeoisie], financial capital, important sectors of the mass media, and parts of the army, above all, Teitelboim noted.

Concerning the struggle of the Communist Party of Chile, the general secretary noted that the party has come out of the 15th congress unified and strengthened. Even though it continues to be illegal, in practice it is struggling for its self-legalization by addressing the masses everywhere and by fully using the available leeway of action through the public appearances of its leaders. The large-scale rally after the party congress, which was held in a soccer stadium in Santiago, was a dramatic and moving event.

However, repression is being continued, as was shown by the brutal actions of the police against the participants in the march for human rights from Valparaiso to Santiago. Even though tough battles are still ahead, Pinochet's era is slowly coming to an end.

Today the Communist Party of Chile is a young party in terms of age, the majority of whose members joined the movement only after the putsch. "The party congress was the expression of a great harmonization of several generations of Communists," Teitelboim said. Younger comrades in particular, who stood their test of fire in the illegal struggle, have been elected to the party leadership. However, the old, more experienced cadres—as is shown by his own example—also continue to belong to the leading collective. Thus, Gladys Marin, who enjoys a great reputation among the Chilean people, has been confirmed in her functions. Former General Secretary Luis Corvalan, who has again been elected as a Central Committee member, continues his political work within the framework of the responsibility given to him.

**Peruvian Roca Caseres Praises Cooperation**  
*AU0607141089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND  
in German 5 Jul 89 p 1*

[ADN report: "Cooperation With GDR Advantageous"]

[Text] Lima (ADN)—In an interview with ADN, Peruvian Politician Carlos Roca Caseres came out in favor of deepening cooperation with the GDR. The GDR, as an important European country, has rich experiences in economy, science, and technology, and in the health and education sectors so closer cooperation in these fields could make a positive contribution to Peru's development, Carlos Roca, member of the National Executive Committee and secretary for international affairs of the ruling American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA) party, said in Lima.

Technology transfer, mining, town construction, agriculture and the training of cadres and skilled workers are potential fields of cooperation.

With affinity, Peru has followed the GDR's development over the past 40 years.

During this time, the GDR has made its contribution to peace in the world. He is convinced that it will continue to feel pledged to this great, comprehensive goal of mankind, Carlos Roca Caseres said.

**Mueckenberger Receives Ecuadoran Communists**  
*AU0307192989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND  
in German 29 Jun 89 p 4*

[ND report: "Delegation of Communist Party of Ecuador in GDR for Study Visit; Erich Mueckenberger Holds Talk With Milton Jijon"]

[Text] Erich Mueckenberger, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the Central Party Control Commission, met with a study delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ecuador [CPE], headed by Milton Jijon, member of the Central Executive Committee and chairman of the Central Party Control Commission, for a talk on Wednesday [28 June].

Erich Mueckenberger briefed the guests on the eighth session of the SED Central Committee and the tasks which the party is facing in the preparation for the 12th SED Congress. He talked about the initiatives developed by the party and all working people in all fields of social life to prepare the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR and to further strengthen socialism and secure peace. Erich Mueckenberger stressed the unity of economic and social policy, the continuous enhancement of the party's leading role, the alliance policy, and the party's close and trusting solidarity with the workers class and the whole nation as fixed components of the SED's social strategy.

The partners in the talk discussed topical international problems. They agreed that the securing of peace is and remains the most important task at present. The initiated process of disarmament and detente has to be resolutely continued and made irreversible.

Milton Jijon conveyed cordial greetings from Rene Mauge, general secretary of the CPE Central Committee, to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, which were reciprocated by Erich Mueckenberger on the latter's behalf. Milton Jijon reported on the Ecuadoran Communists' policy to fulfill the decisions of their 11th party congress. The CPE considers its task to be the consistent defense of the Ecuadoran working people's national and social interests. At present, it is making great efforts to establish a broad front of action of all the leftist and democratic forces of Ecuador that are prepared to advocate peace, democracy, and social justice, he stated.

During its study visit to the GDR, the delegation acquainted itself with the SED's experiences in the field of the Party Control Commission. Werner Mueller, member of the SED Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Central Party Control Commission, participated in the talk.

## Proceedings Following Death of Janos Kadar

### Presidium Pays Tribute to Kadar

LD0607181489 Budapest Domestic Service  
in Hungarian 1630 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] Central Committee has informed us with deep pain that Janos Kadar has died. The 77-year-old politician died at 0916 today after a prolonged, grave illness.

The MSZMP Presidium pays tribute with pain and sincere respect to the memory of Janos Kadar. Rezso Nyers, Karoly Grosz, Miklos Nemeth, and Imre Pozsgay stress in their farewell that they are speaking about a career which over nearly 35 years largely determined the country's history. Janos Kadar also became a personality in international politics, whose opinion counted for much and was taken into account. This was because in many things he broke with sectarian, dogmatic principles and practice, and with the specious enemy image. The slogan, "Whoever it not against us is with us," is a concise expression of his outlook. It was on this basis that it was possible for national consensus to be achieved for a long time on the main issues.

According to the MSZMP Presidium, this principle of Janos Kadar also shaped the government's international policy. This operated in the invigorated Hungarian diplomacy, in the preparation and the event of the Helsinki conference, and then in the development of the process. This concept earned esteem for Hungary among its allies and throughout the world.

The four members of the Presidium also recall that there were mistakes and painful retrograde steps as well in Janos Kadar's career. At the same time, it cannot be forgotten that when, after Khrushchev's dismissal, Janos Kadar arrived from Warsaw, he again adhered emphatically with unshaken loyalty to his principles in favor of the ideals of the 20th CPSU Congress, although at that time many people cast doubt on these.

Janos Kadar wanted a country in which people of different world views could in the same way find a homeland. He strove for economic and social renewal, for reforms approaching a developed Europe. With these large-scale reform ideas Hungary again attracted foreign attention. Janos Kadar did all this in an international environment, in which such endeavors did not meet with whole-hearted sympathy and esteem, the MSZMP Presidium stresses. It was precisely this which was one of the things to determine the stagnation and half-heartedness.

In many ways, time and the MSZMP overtook the career of Janos Kadar as a politician. Alongside all this, it is indisputable that his personality, both here at home and in the wider world, was connected over a long period with the endeavors of humane socialism.

Janos Kadar was swept by life and history, into painfully grave conflicts, the four officials state. He faced up to the historical challenges. He did not strive for popularity at any cost, to such an extent that when the nation's interest required it he also made unpopular decisions. He never disavowed himself. He undertook a community-salvaging task in a period when there were not many other people who would do this. However, in front of the tribunal of history, it is the effectiveness of the preservation of principles and the scale to which compromises are temporary which are decisive.

Let us not be afraid of acknowledging the merits of Janos Kadar, guided in his deeds by his love for the homeland, the MSZMP Presidium stresses. Let us not be afraid of debating his legacy and of throwing out what has not stood the test of time. However, let us not be afraid of pursuing those of his political ideas that are worthwhile. We can approach a present-day and future social consensus only by means of an agreement that takes shape in debates.

Rezso Nyers, Karoly Grosz, Miklos Nemeth, and Imre Pozsgay believe that it is a real tribute worthy of Janos Kadar if we face up to our past, our present, and our future.

### Grosz on Kadar's Career

LD0607224689 Budapest Domestic Service  
in Hungarian 2000 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] In a statement given to Hungarian television, Karoly Grosz, Hungarian Socialist Workers Party general secretary, called Janos Kadar a politician of great stature. Karoly Grosz reiterated the opinion voiced worldwide: Janos Kadar was a politician of great compromises. The general secretary emphasized that Kadar always undertook these compromises in the interest of development.

Karoly Grosz called the period hallmarked by Janos Kadar's name contradictory, and he said that it was the first 15-18 years which primarily brought results. Afterward, the economic and political contradictions became increasingly marked. Indeed, there were even periods when Janos Kadar practically was not present in the leadership.

### Funeral Committee Formed

LD0607165389 Budapest Domestic Service  
in Hungarian 1630 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] On the basis of a decision of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Presidium, a committee has been formed to organize the funeral of Janos Kadar. The members of the committee are Rezso Nyers, MSZMP chairman, as chairman of the committee; Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary; Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Imre Pozsgay, minister of state; Bruno F. Straub, president of the



Presidential Council; and Matyas Szuros, speaker of the National Assembly. The committee will make public the date and place of the funeral, as well as the method of expressing tribute.

#### **Obituary Praises Kadar**

LD0607152589 Budapest MTI in English  
1300 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 6 (MTI)—The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP], the National Assembly, the Presidential Council and the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic announce with deep shock and profound sorrow that Janos Kadar, a prominent personality of the Hungarian and International Workers' Movement, has died after a prolonged, serious illness. He was 77.

Janos Kadar, retired president of the HSWP, was the party's first secretary and general secretary for more than three decades, a member of the Presidential Council, an MP and former prime minister on two occasions. He devoted his whole life, knowledge, experience and energy to the struggle for the well-being of the Hungarian people, the workers, and socialist restructuring.

His compromising spirit, humanity and reform initiatives won the support of the country's progressive forces in trying times, and then the overwhelming majority of the people, and he gained prestige for the cause of Hungarian socialism abroad as well.

Janos Kadar was an outstanding statesman. His entire life and work served the efforts of the Hungarian people to help the country find its way to prosperity on the grounds of social consensus through a policy of reform.

The name and memory of Janos Kadar will be kept alive by the Hungarian Communists and people.

#### **Kadar's Career Reviewed**

LD0607165589 Budapest MTI in English  
0804 GMT 6 Jul 89

["Janos Kadar—Biographical Notes"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, July 6 (MTI)—Janos Kadar was born on May 26, 1912 in Fiume (now Rijeka, Yugoslavia). His original occupation was technician. He joined the party in 1931.

Mr Kadar joined the Young Workers' Movement in 1929, and was later active in the Hungarian Federation of Young Communist Workers (KIMSZ). From May 1942 he was member, and from the beginning of 1943, secretary of the Central Committee of the party. He was one of the organizers of the anti-fascist resistance movement from the autumn of 1944.

After the country's liberation in 1945, Mr Kadar was member of the central leadership and the Political Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party, and was deputy general secretary of the central leadership from 1946. Between 1948 and 1950, he was minister of the interior, then was head of department of the central leadership of the Hungarian Workers' Party (MDP). Mr Kadar was arrested in the spring of 1951 on trumped up charges, and rehabilitated in 1954. From July 1956, he was member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party and secretary of the central leadership.

In November 1956, he was the founding premier of the revolutionary workers' and peasants' government, and was first secretary of the provisional central committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. From 1961 to 1965, he was again chairman of the Council of Minister.

From June 1957, he was first secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, and from 1985 general secretary of the party. In May 1988, at the national party conference, he was not elected to the Political Committee, but became president of the HSWP. In May 1989, he was relieved of the function of president, and from membership in the Central Committee because of his deteriorated health.

"I worked in the workers' movement for almost half a century. Yes, I probably made some mistakes in my political work, too. But believe me, all my actions were guided by good intentions: I held the interests of the Hungarian people, the movement and the party to be of the utmost importance.

"...Nowadays, I am occupied with thoughts of my own responsibility. I hope...that coming generations will evaluate the results and errors of the past three decades in a more objective manner..."

This was part of what Janos Kadar wrote in reply to a letter he received from the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party on his being relieved from the function of party president in May, 1989. This proved to be his last public address.

Historians are now examining his role in the 1956 events and in the conviction of Imre Nagy and his associates. He himself said in an interview series in the weekly MAGYARORSZAG (Hungary) that the tragedy of Imre Nagy was also his own personal tragedy.

A scientific evaluation of the three decades associated with his name—the Kadar era, that was not free from contradictions—has not yet been prepared. This period was, however, characterized by the fact that he was capable of creating national consensus in the country in the years following November, 1956, under the political slogan, "He who is not against us is with us". He also won the appreciation of international public opinion. Such was the trademark of Janos Kadar.



The improvement of relations between Hungary and the West, and the policy of opening up, is also linked to his name. His undying merits are the creation of the Helsinki conference and the advancement of East-West dialogue.

In the past 15 years, the party leadership, led by Mr Kadar, also committed serious errors, and these became the source of the country's serious economic problems, accumulated foreign debts, relegation of the intellectuals, and the upsetting of the social value of orders. All the same, this was a period when Hungary was considered, both at home and abroad, the initiator of political and economic renewal.

**Grosz Interviewed on Career, Decisions, Future**  
*AU0707083389 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP*  
*in Hungarian 29 Jun 89 p 3*

[Interview with MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz by Zoltan Lovas: "Karoly Grosz' Loneliness—What Does a Politician Feel When He Gets His Own Slaps in His Face?—I Have Always Felt Relief When I Was Replaced—Discussion With the General Secretary in Parliament"—in the Parliament Building, on 28 June]

[Text] What does the general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] feel when he is no longer the number one leader, but only one of "the four?" As a private person, what can a politician feel who, during the last few years, changed his opinion often and very much and, as a result, received frequent and considerable criticism? This time, Karoly Grosz is answering our questions as a private person, but his human face is not too different from his politician's face.

[Lovas] Earlier, parliament deputies, government members, and the press vied with each other to talk to you in the corridors of parliament. Today, however, it seems as if the atmosphere around you is frozen; at least this is how many of us feel. Is this the way you feel too?

[Grosz] No. This time too, I have had to turn down several interview requests, just as in the past, simply because it is physically impossible to fulfill every demand. As you can see, I am quite active in doing my job, and a lot of things are happening, so I do not feel that way at all.

[Lovas] There was recently an example of such a case: Suddenly, people stopped paying special attention to the previous number one leader....

[Grosz] Anyone who chooses such a job should always be prepared for this. I have seen several such changes in my life, and I would not be surprised at all if it happened once again. However, I do not see anything like that happening. I do not feel at all that I have now been pushed out of some kind of political "mainstream." On the contrary, now I feel really good because everything we decided upon 1 year ago has finally come about.

There is a healthy distribution of roles in the leadership. We should have done this in May 1988. At the time, unfortunately, this was impossible due to health reasons. At the time, the party chairman was unable to fulfill the task upon which we had agreed. I do not want to complain, but, as a result, I had to bear extremely heavy burdens. The present formation is indeed in line with the original division of roles and our original concepts.

#### That Was No Resignation

[Lovas] There is something here that I do not understand. I have heard from reliable sources that you have already offered your resignation to the MSZMP Central Committee at least 4 or 5 times, but your offers have not been accepted. I do not know if this is true, but if it is, what motivated your decision? And once you made that decision, why did you not stick to it?

[Grosz] This was true on one occasion. On one occasion, I really did offer my resignation, but together with the entire Politburo. I was really sorry about not having several candidates to compete with me at the time....

However, you should know that at the time we thought that the MSZMP congress would take place only in the autumn of 1990. I regard the current political conditions as being conditions in which politicians are passing tests almost daily. Therefore, I believed that both the Politburo and the general secretary should offer their resignation once a year and, if successful, be reelected. I offered to include the issue of convening annual congresses in the new statute. Thus, nothing else has happened but a so-called testing and practical implementation of a hopeful program or organization. Therefore, I really did offer my resignation. And then, with the exception of two members, the Politburo was reelected, with the addition of a new member, and the Central Committee reelected me as general secretary with 97 percent of the votes. I made a proposal then, a proposal that will be included in the new organizational statute, namely to hold party elections prior to the party congress which, at the time, we planned for the autumn of 1990. I saw within the party movement that a lot of people want to directly participate in creating the party leadership....

[Lovas] What kind of party elections did you have in mind? Basic party committee, district party committee, or other party elections?

[Grosz] According to my proposal, the entire party membership would have elected the party chairman, the general secretary, and the president of the republic. This is not some kind of Grosz-like invention. I can cite examples of this elsewhere in the international workers movement. I think that everyone should vote if there is such a demand within the party. Now, we will not do this until the party congress, but we will include this in the

new draft organizational statute and the congress will decide whether the current system will stay or not. In other words, we are not talking here about me personally.

Therefore, this was an organizational debate, and not a resignation. If we were not holding a congress this year, I would once again offer my resignation.

[Lovas] In recent months you have received open slaps and severe defeats, unlike anyone else in this country in previous decades—at least not openly. You have been criticized for your words on the economic state of emergency, and for your speech at the Budapest Sports Hall.... One could cite many more examples.... You seem to have received all this criticism calmly. But how? As a human being, how can you tolerate this?

[Grosz] I have always thought that a politician should be prepared for confrontation. One can also gain something from confrontations, and not only lose. Besides, I do not regret anything about the political direction I have represented over the last 1-2 years. If I had to start again, I would do the same. As for the criticism regarding some of my statements, it is mostly demagoguery, or even despotism. There is nothing like it anywhere in the world. Something like this can only happen in a place where there is a serious lack of political manners, as in Hungary today! Sentences were cut from one of my speeches and added to some other event as my comment. Such things violate the basic rules of the game. I was personally upset by them, but they never disturbed my work.

[Lovas] You must have been at the center of fantastic tension sometimes. I remember when you arrived for the first opening round of the national roundtable conference, the MSZMP delegates were coming up the parliament stairs....

[Grosz] Yes, I remember and I promised an interview after the roundtable conference....

[Lovas] Which we did. Yes, we shook hands then on the stairs. You were almost staggering, and I thought you would collapse. You were extremely tense. I do not know what was going on inside you then.... Half an hour later, you came out of the Hunter's Hall of the parliament completely calm and gave an interview smiling. What goes on inside a leading politician in times like these?

[Grosz] I am generally tired. The last 2-3 years have worn me down very much, and not only because I have not been on vacation. I have only taken a vacation three times in my life. Therefore, I did not miss this. The leadership, and I, personally, was not prepared for the change in May 1988. When I got into government in 1987, I lived and knew as much as anyone who does not participate in the innermost workshop work is generally told.

### This Is Another World

[Lovas] Were you ever in this situation as a county party secretary?

[Grosz] A county party secretary did not get too much insight into the innermost workshops. When I became secretary of the Budapest party committee, I knew more. I was elected to the Politburo only in 1985. By then, the consequences of the decisions made in the previous 10-15 years had already emerged in the political workshop. However, this was not yet the period of working out political concepts, only the beginning of the period of dealing with the tensions. This marked the beginning of a period in my life in which I could start gathering knowledge about our people's economy. When I became a member of the government, I suddenly had to realize that this world was different from what I had imagined. With a superhuman effort I tried then to make up for the gaps in my knowledge. These gaps did not derive from any kind of subjective sloppiness, but my career had developed in such a way that I had not come across these issues. There were many things I could not understand. I am grateful to my great colleagues who helped me; I am referring to Peter Medgyessy and Ferenc Bartha. I have to mention Mr Marjai separately, who from the beginning greatly helped me to find my way in these processes, and Miklos Nemeth, who was head of a Central Committee department at that time, and later became a secretary. He was very much more involved with these things already at that time....

[Lovas] ....with World Bank and debt issues....

[Grosz] He had dealt with these issues in his previous job in the planning office, and with financial issues in the party center. Thus, he had much more professional knowledge than I.

[Lovas] Let us return to our basic subject.... Do not misunderstand me, I do not want to be personal, but I honestly have to admit that I have been following your statements ever since the middle of the seventies. I personally do not sympathize with you. The things you said were too tough and sometimes I did not feel they were sincere. A lot of people feel the same. They think you are too tense when you speak. They do not think you are natural. I presume you are also aware of these views....

[Grosz] Of course, but I deny this. One of my major problems has always been precisely the fact that I am too open, and too sincere, and that I always say what I think. I do not take it as a defeat if I have to change my opinion. I have always been open to the opinion of others. I have never been engaged in politics for prestige, but only out of conviction.

[Lovas] I also see a timing problem here. If you had made your decisions weeks or months before, the public would now be calling you Karoly "the Great" and not Karoly Grosz. [reference to the meaning of the word "grosz" in German]

[Grosz] I have never had any ambition to overestimate my activity. I have never been attracted either by power or rank. I have a strange character. I always enjoyed doing precisely what I was doing at the particular moment. Any change, even if an advancement, has been a burden for me. I have always felt relief when I was replaced. First, at the end of 1973 when I became secretary of the Fejer County party committee, from being acting head of a Central Committee department. Second, when I became secretary of the Borsod County party committee. However, I should put the word "replaced" in parentheses because this change represented a relief and better conditions for me. However, there is no doubt that this change was necessary, and the reservations toward me played a decisive role in this change.

[Lovas] Namely that many people were afraid of you in the party center? Is that right?

[Grosz] Yes, it is, and also—as you have just said—many of them do not like my style and my manner. Some people told me that, others did not.... These assignments did not bother me much, and I thought that if I could serve and work, then I would get everything. All my desire and ambition was to let me work. They did not shake me. I represented the same style and concept everywhere I worked. However, I never felt that I was carrying the philosopher's stone alone. Others may have a better and more profound understanding of things than I have. Therefore, I can work efficiently if I am open to the ideas of others. I have always tried to work with people who are more intelligent and more experienced than myself. One can lead effectively if one is in an inspiring environment. I left no doubt in anyone's mind about what I believe and what I think. I have always believed in the most wide open policy.

I never liked the great and general speeches and blurring things. I never calculated what the consequence of something I will say in 2 weeks will be. Or whom I would have outrun if I had said something 2 weeks earlier.... I have never been interested in such things. I, myself, have played the smallest role in my career. One generally does not apply for the position of premier, nor for the position of general secretary. Therefore, there are things in my activity in the government and the party which I would do differently a second time....

[Lovas] For example?

[Grosz] Several things. For example, in cadre policy. I have judged some people incorrectly.

[Lovas] You mean you were wide off the mark in some cases?

[Grosz] Yes. From different perspective points I saw qualities different from the qualities that actually emerged in some people's new positions. I do not want to come up with names because I do not want to hurt anyone. Just count how many people have been appointed in leading positions since 1987.... Your two hands would not be enough to count them, but I know the list by heart. I have brooded and pondered a lot on this. And mainly on the failure of my expectations to come true. But these people are not to blame. The leader, that is myself, who appointed them is responsible. They did not apply for these jobs either. Their situation is the same as mine.

[Lovas] I just wanted to ask you about responsibility: There are now four people carrying the same burden as you carried alone. Is this a relief now?

[Grosz] Of course. I have much better working conditions now. Of course, in itself this formation is also not a guarantee that fewer mistakes will be made in decision-making. But the chances of making mistakes will definitely decrease. It is a good thing if one does not have to make decisions alone, no matter what his colleagues may be like. You know how it is! People are more careful in saying no, and they give different signals. And now, they are equal partners with equal responsibility. Until now, everyone could say: "Let him do it, it is his business!"

[Lovas] You are four people now. When Rezso Nyers was forced out of power in the seventies, you were not forced out. In one way or another you have constantly participated in power. Even if we disregard more recent events, this represents a big source of conflict with Rezso Nyers. As for Imre Pozsgay, it is known that your analyses of the political situation are often diametrically opposed. Miklos Nemeth has recently repeatedly disagreed with you. Many people outside now think that there are breaches between you and the other three politicians on one hand, and individually among each other, on the other. Is there indeed such a human conflict situation? If so, how can you make collective decisions?

[Grosz] Everyone is alone. Everyone brings only himself into this "four-sided wedding." However, your list is not precise. My highest rank was deputy department head in the Central Committee in the seventies, when Rezso Nyers was in the leadership as Central Committee secretary and Politburo member. We were not in the same weight class.

There is an old friendship between Pozsgay and me. This friendship continues. For years, we worked in the same Central Committee department. Pozsgay often visited me when I was secretary of the Borsod County party committee. He was in a difficult situation. As a minister, he had conflicts with some other leaders....

[Lovas] And also with the ministerial tasks....

[Grosz] ....with that too, and with many other things. He was in a difficult situation as a person. We talked a lot then.... We did not confront each other as personalities, nor do we do that today. Even before the party conference in May 1988, I myself asked him to accept a position in the close party leadership. Many people knew that. He decided to accept, but with difficulty. He repeatedly stressed then that "together yes, but not separately...." In other words, our personal relations are quite normal.

As for Miklos Nemeth, perhaps I do not have to give special explanation. I was the one who gave maximum support from the very beginning to Nemeth's movements and his more active participation in political life.

Therefore, there are no personal conflicts between the four of us. We do have differences of opinion. If the four of us fail to coordinate our differences of opinion on basic issues, this formation will not function....

[Lovas] Nor will the MSZMP....

[Grosz] Nor will the MSZMP. However, if the members of this formation of four leaders do not preserve their own individual ideas in matters of detail, this will be similarly bad. There is no need to make wrong decisions without debate and in a big and peaceful harmony. What would be the sense of anything like that? This whole thing should have not been set up then. In other words, things are perhaps different from inside than from outside....

[Lovas] That is why I am asking....

[Grosz] I also said at the last Central Committee that the debate between us is not on ideological issues or personal issues but on judging certain unanswered and immature steps. This debate continues. Why would this not continue?

We started this whole period after May 1988 by lacking a thoroughly prepared concept. Should I say now that this was the result of a cadre policy of which God save this country? Every farsighted party plans the generation changes! Not letting such a change to burst in! People do not come to the fore by accident. If an entire group emerges as a result of some element of mood, this will result in a lot of conflict situations. The members of such a group will adjust only with difficulty. Elsewhere, parties have alternative concepts, and a new group takes over with a carefully prepared program when the need for change arises. And we? Well, we are just "starting" things.... With sufferings, we reached the point where we recognized the need for a change in model in 1 year!

#### What If You Are Forced Out of Power?

[Lovas] What happens if you are forced out of power?

[Grosz] A political leader should always be prepared for the possibility that he will lose power. And I do hope that the time will come when he will lose power. The election of leaders for a duration of 3 decades has been proven wrong by history. It is obvious that this practice does not work! If the movement no longer trusts me or if my departure benefited the interests of the party and its relations with the masses, I would not be shocked at all. I would switch over in no time to the lifestyle that I imagined for myself when I initiated my departure from the leadership. Most probably, I would continue to deal with a certain area of politics in the framework of a workshop activity. I would try to put my political experiences in order....

[Lovas] Would you write your memoirs?

[Grosz] God forbid! By no means! I have had enough of the memoirs literature. I would place my experiences at the disposal of the leadership, of archives and research activity, or even of the day-to-day political activity. I find this neither offensive nor unpleasant.

[Lovas] As a private person, what would you do? Hobbies, grandchildren?

[Grosz] To go fishing as a hobby, this is not a plan for a man. One will do this once or twice a week. Then one has the family, and takes care of the kids. However, my 15-year-old grandchild does not need a grandfather. Not at all. I have already imagined and also planned what I should do with my time in such a case. I will live in a way to be useful for the community, if not immediately, at least later.

However, I also deserve a little rest. I have been working for 45 years. In all this time, I was ill only once. For 6 days. I took a vacation three times, with a proper vacation only twice.

[Lovas] Where would you go to live? Back to Miskolc?

[Grosz] Not at all. I would stay in the Pest area. Just think about it, I have moved 13 times in the party's interest. I simply do not feel like moving again. Moving always makes one broke. Everyone who has done that knows. My children live in Pest and I do not want to live far from them. I will gladly stay here around Pest. A little calmer and freer. So that I could also reach my friends. I am not disturbed by such an alternative either spiritually or from any other respect. I will influence things in a direction that will help natural things start moving.

**Supreme Court Annuls Sentences on Nagy, Others**  
*LD0607152389 Budapest Domestic Service  
in Hungarian 1400 GMT 6 Jul 89*

[Text] The Hungarian Supreme Court has annulled the sentences pronounced against Imre Nagy and his associates in 1958. The legal protest of the chief public prosecutor has been deemed well-founded and at a



public session Imre Nagy, Ferenc Donath, Miklos Gimes, Zoltan Tildy, Pal Maleter, Sandor Kopatsy, Jozsef Szilagyi, Ferenc Janosi, and Miklos Varsarhelyi were absolved because they had not committed crimes.

#### **Court Decision Detailed**

*LD0607202289 Budapest MTI in English  
1840 GMT 6 Jul 89*

[Text] Budapest, July 6 (MTI)—As reported earlier, during its public session on Thursday, the seven-member Presidential Council of the Supreme Court of the Hungarian People's Republic considered the legal protest lodged by the chief public prosecutor as well-founded and declared null and void the 1958 verdicts brought by the people's tribunal council of the Supreme Court against Imre Nagy and his associates. Imre Nagy, Ferenc Donath, Miklos Gimes, Zoltan Tildy, Pal Maleter, Sandor Kopatsi, Dr Jozsef Szilagyi, Ferenc Janosi and Miklos Varsarhelyi were acquitted when the court found them not guilty of any crime.

The session of the Presidial Council was opened by Jeno Szilberek, president of the Supreme Court, amidst the keen interest of the domestic and foreign press. Present at the event were the relatives of people executed and of those who died after imprisonment. The two still living defendants of the trial, Sandor Kopatsi and Miklos Varsarhelyi, were not present at the session.

First, Gyula Czili, deputy president of the Supreme Court, declared the legal protest of the chief public prosecutor, including the original sentences.

On the basis of the protest, Gyula Czili outlined the evaluation of the explored facts and figures which led the chief public prosecutor to conclude that the sentences were unfounded and a breach of law.

The decision and reasons of the Presidential Council, which revoked the unlawful verdicts and acquitted people charged, were put forward by Jeno Szilberek.

Mr Szilberek said that the court first of all examined whether the condemned committed the crimes they were accused of. It concluded that the activity of Imre Nagy and his associates did not violate the Constitution and was not aimed at overthrowing the people's democratic order.

The Presidial Council stated that criticism of the ruling party's policy and the existing state and social institutions, and the political activity aimed at changing them did not violate the Constitution and cannot be considered an attack against the state order. The people's tribunal council accused the defendants of organizing and sparking off the demonstration on October 23 and working out the programme of the forthcoming Imre Nagy government. It is historical fact that the demonstration on October 23 and the subsequent events broke out because of a social crisis that had been fermenting for

a considerable period of time. They was [as received] a spontaneous reaction by the various social groups to the attitude of the inflexible party and state leadership that was incapable of change, the Presidential Council said. Mr Szilberek emphasized that it is not a matter of penal law to evaluate whether the operation of a government violates the Constitution, and the errors committed in the course of government and the breaches of the rules of operation in an emergency situation or for other reason is not a crime against the state.

The material compensation of the victims of show trials will be subject to a new law under elaboration which will regulate in detail the material and moral rehabilitation of people sentenced at the time.

#### **Nemeth Speaks at National Youth Forum**

*LD0107222389 Budapest MTI in English  
1953 GMT 1 Jul 89*

[Text] Budapest, July 1 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, member of the Presidium of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] and chairman of the Council of Ministers, informed young people about the government's programme under preparation. Mr Nemeth was speaking on the second day of the "Youth-2000" national conference in Budapest on Saturday [1 July]. Mr Nemeth mentioned among the most important principles of the programme that the problems and tensions of young people, and the solutions to these should not be treated separately, as an independent youth policy conception, but should be adapted into the connections of the social problems, as an all-governmental task. The government considers young people as equal partners, and counts on the work and initiatives of the youth organizations. Mr Nemeth stressed it is expedient to outline a general social policy in strategy, one that prevents that further tensions come about, that the problems of young people lead to explosive home political tensions.

The peaceful transition of the change in model is fundamentally also in the interest of young people, the prime minister stressed. The acute social-welfare crisis should be handled simultaneously to the crisis managing policy. Social debates should determine the priorities also in social-welfare policy, similarly to education and youth policy. The prime minister also said that a housing management system of a market nature is being worked out, and is expected to be made public.

#### **Nemeth on Social, Youth Policies**

*LD0107225189 Budapest Television Service  
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 1 Jul 89*

[Text] The "Youth-2000" conference, which began yesterday at the technical university, has continued. This afternoon one guest of the forum was the prime minister, who replied to questions and problems that were heard in the sections. One question raised was to what extent does the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party still enjoy the trust of young people?

[Begin recording] [Nemeth] In the present situation of society—taking into consideration the problems and difficulties of young people—I cannot answer with absolute certainty. It is the sure basis of a stratum, but by no means as much as in the sixties or seventies. For in a pluralistic system, youth are also pluralistic. Its ability to articulate interests is considerable and it will join the various parties and programs.

[Unidentified correspondent] The newly emerging political organizations doubtless do not yet have a worked-out youth policy. I wonder when the government will have ready its youth policy for the nineties.

[Nemeth] I believe and profess with conviction that in the government's strategy being prepared, approaching it as an all-governmental function and task, fitting it into social policy, the government will have by the fall a concrete, pursuable program including a youth policy.

[Correspondent] We have heard statistics to the effect that in the next 5 years about 160,000 new jobs need to be found, otherwise there will be a large-scale increase in unemployment among those just starting out. Can the government meet this challenge?

[Nemeth] I think the government must go out and face this problem, for example by renewing its stock of employment policy tools; in other words, by further developing existing ones and supplementing them with new ones. On the other hand, there is a need for better harmonizing education and employment policy. The program for training and education, which is being examined under the leadership of Minister Ferenc Glatz, will be put forward with concrete proposals for this.

[Correspondent] Another statistic: With a 20%, an annual 20% inflation rate in real estate, several people here have said it is impossible, inconceivable, for this inflation to be offset with social welfare or other kinds of compensation. This once again places a burden for the large part on young people.

[Nemeth] Well, the housing situation does affect young people first and foremost. Unfortunately, however, it hits the burden-carrying, burden-bearing, strata of society also at least as much. For this reason the basic issue is that within the next 3 to 4 years we should be able to reduce inflation, because there is a paradox here. On the one hand, in today's system, the budgetary support for housing is increasing at a rapid rate; it is virtually unmanageable. And on the other hand, the system, even with such a large scale of support, does not ease but rather increases injustice, it worsens, for example, young people's chances of acquiring homes. Therefore, hard decisions from among several alternatives will have to be put on the table here so that we can ease this really hard barrier and major cause for social tension. [end recording]

**Nyers, Grosz Receive Portugal's Alvaro Cunhal**  
*LD3006220189 Budapest MTI in English*  
1906 GMT 30 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 30 (MTI)—Rezso Nyers, HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] president, and Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary, held talks with Alvaro Cunhal, general secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) on Friday.

They informed Senhor Cunhal on Hungary's reform processes and efforts to create a democratic socialist society.

Senhor Cunhal emphasized that Portuguese Communists were following the renewal of the HSWP with keen attention, and wished every success to the development of socialist society.

The Hungarian and Portuguese party leaders spoke with satisfaction about the traditionally good and close cooperation between the HSWP and the PCP. They took a stand for the further expansion of inter-party links, and welcomed the development of political, economic and cultural ties between the two countries.

The cordial, comradely meeting was attended by Laszlo Major, member of the Central Committee [CC] and head of the CC's office, and Albano Nunes, alternate member of the secretariat of the PCP CC and head of the Foreign Affairs Department.

**Barabas Attends Renewal Party Meeting 1 Jul**  
*LD0107214189 Budapest MTI in English*  
1715 GMT 1 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 1 (MTI)—The 'Cooperation for the Renewal of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] Movement' held its first national meeting on Saturday in Budapest, with some 300 participants attending. The initiators of the movement said they agree with the positions taken at the recent session of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, and support the action unity that has been created in the leadership. They see a chance for the renewal of the HSWP to be accelerated, and that the fight for power to be replaced by a firm, common action that serves the interests of the party's future. The current, critical situation of the party makes it indispensable to designate the fundamental issues which connect the membership.

The conference organizers also stressed that the platform is not headed by individuals, as earlier many people brought the founding of the movement into connection with the name of Janos Berecz. The initiators of the movement were the party members who desired the renewal of the party. On the other hand, huge applause followed the contribution of Jozsef Rago who, on behalf of the workers of the Csepel District, proposed that a

left-wing bloc be set up under the hall-mark of Janos Berecz. The speaker noted: The party is endangered by the right-wing, and immediate cooperation is needed against this.

Janos Barabas, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, appreciating the thought of cooperation, said: In the current situation, when the country, the nation is in a crisis situation, the HSWP should rise above the party policy points of view in the narrow sense.

# **Bihari Interviewed on Democratic Movement**

LD0107230389 Budapest Domestic Service  
in Hungarian 1400 GMT 1 Jul 89

[From the "168 Hours" program]

[Excerpts] Our correspondent, Ferenc Vicsek, has spoken with university lecturer Mihaly Bihari, one of the members of the preparatory committee of the Movement for Democratic Hungary [MDH], on the movement's ideas and thinking. [passage omitted]

[Vicsek] According to their own statements, every party in Hungary today is fighting for a democratic Hungary. My view is that democracy is the free battle between parties for power. Why does somebody have to keep this in hand from above? Take on artificial responsibilities?

[Bihari] I would like to emphasize again that the MDH does not place itself above parties or above the other movements. It does not position itself above anyone, but wants to step in among them. It wishes to gather together people who are not necessarily homogeneous, or who do not necessarily agree or think alike on every question, but who manage to agree on the most important issue, the most important issue now, which is that a peaceful transition must be made from the one-party system dictatorship to a multiparty democracy capable of functioning.

The name of the movement, indeed, infers a very broad platform, but the founding statement under preparation also distances the movement from certain things and contains margins, too. The MDH wishes to separate itself from and rejects every kind of dictatorial socialism: the despotic-fascist kind of socialism, as well as the toned-down dictatorship and the rationalized, bureaucratic, planned economy, the society operating under the rule of toned-down ideology, like, for example, Kadarism, which was not a Stalinist kind of dictatorship. The MDH also rejects this.

In Hungary today, there are political forces that are organizing themselves around a platform, not just one platform, but many. Platforms which, for example, accept this toned-down dictatorship, this rationalized planned economy, this toned-down ideocratic society. Obviously, we cannot work together with them.

[Vicsek] Can this movement impede the real, categoric division of the political structure by discharging people's political temper in the name of such a large general idea: democracy?

[Bihari] We do not demand exclusivity. We do not believe or declare that only those people who take part in this movement are democratic, and that only they want Hungarian democracy. We believe, avow, and are pleased if this is also undertaken by as many political organizations and movements as possible, with their own character. We consider this natural. We also consider natural for a good many not to join us here, but to find a stage and operating area for their own political activity in other organizations. Naturally, however, we would like as many as possible to accept those values which the MDP upholds. We emphasize that everyone may retain their membership in any political organization or movement alongside their participation in the MDH, without any kind of problem. [passage omitted]

I think this movement, if it takes up a more determined organizational structure, will position itself somewhere on the left: not in the center, but left of center, if we take the traditional left-right division. It will not be a Euro-communist or a reform communist movement, but a Eurosocialist movement. That is, it will be a movement that is left-wing, socialist, in the West European sense. If justified, the question naturally arises that if the movement adopts a more determined organizational structure, or perhaps the [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] MSZMP prohibits its own members from becoming members of this movement, then certain people from the MSZMP perhaps will come over to us. For the time being, this need to make a choice does not exist, I emphasize once again, but naturally it is not inconceivable. [passage omitted]

# **October Party Leader Interviewed on Policy**

LD0207090189 Budapest Domestic Service  
in Hungarian 1400 GMT 1 Jul 89

[Interview with Gyorgy Krasso, Jozsef Balnaki, and Pal Szolnoki, leaders of the Hungarian October Party, by Henrik Havas, in studio; date not given, from the "168 Hours" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Havas] The Hungarian October Party's three leaders are sitting here with us in the studio. I ask Gyorgy Krasso, whom I already know, and his two associates, to introduce themselves and to say something about themselves. I think that Gyorgy Krasso will not find it easy to explain his status in a couple of sentences.

[Krasso] I would rather tell you what my occupation is. I am a horizontal lathe turner, an unskilled laborer who has worked as a food delivery man, stamp selector, economist, translator, journalist, radio reporter, and the leader of an independent press agency. At present I am one of the founders of a party. [passage omitted]



[Havas] Your founding statement says that the negotiations between the Opposition Roundtable and the Communists are intended to avoid an explosion but it is to be feared that the lack of legitimacy of the negotiating partners might achieve precisely the opposite effect. Gyorgy Krasso, I suppose you also agree with the goal, namely the need to avoid an explosion.

[Krasso] Yes, we do.

[Havas] In that case, why do you oppose these talks?

[Krasso] As you have said, these talks are held because without them there would be various clashes, there would be no scope for the various interests to manifest themselves and there could not be a peaceful compromise. However, since the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] is carrying out these negotiations with organizations that do not represent the population—such organizations do not exist right now; after all, these parties, organizations, cryptocommunist parties, pseudoparties represent a tiny proportion, less than one percent, of the population—what is involved is an act of self-deception, since they are not negotiating with the population, whom they are afraid of, but with small groups who do not represent anyone but themselves.

[Havas] In that case, who represents the population? How can 10 million citizens be asked for their views?

[Krasso] It might be possible to do so through local, factory, workplace, or settlement self-governments or representations, but this is not the issue. The issue is whether it is permissible to conduct negotiations before the holding of free elections. The whole question was misguided; if the MSZMP really wants to prove that it wants reforms and pluralism, then it has to wait first for the parties to develop, then there has to be elections, and only then, once we know which party represents what proportion of the population, can they conduct negotiations.

[Havas] Is this not happening now?

[Krasso] No, it is just the opposite that is happening. We know that the parties represent very few people, we do not know what proportion of the votes each would get, and despite this they sit down at the negotiating table and come to agreements on issues that will influence the future of the entire population for years ahead. The population knows very little of these talks, beyond the fact that they are held above their heads and that they are not represented by anyone. [passage omitted]

It appears to me that there is a smoke-screen set up, not only by the MSZMP but also by opposition or pseudo-opposition groups. I think that we can gain many followers simply by telling the truth about what is happening in Hungary. This does not mean that we will be a mass party. There is a great deal of fear in the people; and I can

imagine that they will not join a party called the Hungarian October Party. It is another question, however, what they will do in the polling booths.

[Havas] [Passage omitted] In this brochure of yours, which is lying in front of me, there are these rather vague statements: our weapon is the truth, our enemy is violence; we are calling on the revolutionaries of 1956, the freedom fighters of 1956. Then comes a list, the democratic opposition, those forced to go abroad, and so on, and then, in large letters, this party is the party of the streets. Now, here is something very interesting, at the bottom. It says: Hungarians, let us start it again. Someone has crossed this out with a pen. Did you get scared?

[Krasso] No, if you look at the other brochure, you will see that it includes the slogan in question. We have agreed that we will use these two slogans and that some of our papers will have one of them and the rest the other.

[Havas] Now I am rather worried. Up to now I felt neither sympathy nor antipathy toward you, but this slogan, Hungarians, let us start it again, evokes bad feelings in me, even though I was 7 years old in 1956. I would not like to see 1956 continued, in either direction.

[Krasso] This is very strange. Of course, I do not know your political ideas.

[Havas] Forgive me for interrupting, I was not referring to the political processes but to what happened in the streets. I think that no one would want to continue that. Do you want to continue it in the streets?

[Krasso] I think that the fact that it happened in the streets does not alter the fact that in essence the revolution has even been officially rehabilitated in Hungary. The country itself did not have to rehabilitate it; it always identified with it. Now there are different circumstances; it does not have to be continued in the streets, but perhaps, possibly, at the negotiating table. The essence has not changed; the same ideals must be realized.

[Havas] I would say that the political evaluation of 1956 obviously differs with the various political stances, but fundamentally there is a convergence. However, in recent years there has been a political development that has led the country to the point where we will be electing a president of the republic, and so on. I think that those who instead of wanting to continue this year 18-month old process want to reach back to a situation that existed 30 years ago, could get into a bad situation.

[Krasso] Now, what you have just said, namely that we will be electing a president of the Republic, is a very good example. The legal regulations connected with the function of the president, about which the National Assembly will create a law, demonstrate that the present development, which you evaluate as a perfectly positive



one, is not at all positive but is rather manipulative and corrupt. We are going back to 1956 to show the ideal toward which this development must go. We did not want to refer to a revolution in the streets with this slogan but to the ideals the streets identified with, because the streets had the right ideals and not the party or the reform opposition of the time.

[Havas] It seems to me that the institution of the president of the Republic, in which the mass of electors can confirm a personality such as, for example, Imre Pozsgay, who enjoys the confidence of the larger part of society, can be the only guarantee in the period to come that the process of democratization will not come to a halt.

[Krasso] This is a very dangerous position you represent, namely that you make future developments dependent on a single person. Even if I had the fullest confidence in Imre Pozsgay—let me stress the even if I had—even in that case I would say that the country cannot entrust its life to a single individual. The only guarantee for the free development of the future is the people, society, itself.

**Serbian Official on Minorities in Hungary, Romania**  
AU0507171489 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG  
in Hungarian 28 Jun 89 p 3

[Interview with Zoran Veljic, deputy head of the International Relations Secretariat of the Republic of Serbia, by Miklos Ritecz: "Minority Culture Is Mainly Preserved by Villages—Interview in Belgrade About the Situation of Serbs Who Live in Hungary and Romania"—date, place not given]

[Text] Almost 1 million Serbs are expected in Kosovo today for the 600th anniversary of the battle of Rigomezo. This great battle against the Ottoman conquerors is still regarded as an important symbol of Serbian statehood. The anniversary also gave the opportunity for our Belgrade correspondent to ask Zoran Veljic about the situation of Serbs living abroad, primarily those living in Hungary and Romania.

[Ritecz] How do you evaluate the situation of the few thousand Serbs who live in Hungary?

[Veljic] We highly appreciate the measures taken to improve the situation of Serbs living in Hungary, but I must say that these measures came a little too late. Even the best measures cannot counterbalance the natural assimilation of the 4,000-5,000 Serbs who live in Hungary. Of course, this makes us sad, particularly if we go to Szentendre and meet with the few old men who still preserve our culture and traditions there. Much help is coming from the Democratic Federation of Yugoslavs in Hungary which, in the new atmosphere, is dealing with the problems even more publicly than hitherto.

[Ritecz] There are Serbian minorities not only in Hungary. What rights do the Serbs enjoy in other countries, like the much greater number of Serbs who live in Romania?

[Veljic] We have never dealt with the situation of the Serbian minority in these two neighboring countries in the same way. Although previously the Serbs in Romania did not complain, lately we have been experiencing an unfavorable trend in their fate. Their number is around 60,000, mainly in Temes County. They have a school and a cultural association in Temesvar. However, their freedom of expression has been narrowing down lately. Like every national minority, the Serbs are "melted" by the natural assimilation, and there are also many mixed marriages. At the same time, the Serbs in Romania, and not only this minority group, are threatened by other things too, like the planned "reform" of the village system there. We know that everything that is preserved in villages will disappear in towns, like traditions and cultural values.

[Ritecz] It seems that you also worry about the fate of Serbs in Romania?

[Veljic] Yes. Two measures taken last year caused concern. First, the ban on using Serbian placenames in the Romanian press, and even the sports clubs are now banned from using their Serbian names. The other measure is the aforementioned "village settlement" plan, which, as far as I know, is no longer being carried out, at least in the case of the Serbian minority. We know that the Romanian side is not very eager to discuss the issue of national minorities there, but it seems that there have been some positive changes lately.

**U.S. Security Expert Interviewed on Bush Visit**  
*AU0607151189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish*  
4 Jul 89 p 5

[Interview with John Mroz, director of the New York Institute of Studies on the Security of East-West Relations, by Zbigniew Broniarek, TRYBUNA LUDU's U.S. correspondent, in Washington on 3 July: "Jaruzelski—Full of Concern for Poland" ]

[Text] On Monday 3 July, I asked John Mroz, director of the New York Institute of Studies on the Security of East-West Relations [name of institute as published], to give a statement prior to President George Bush's Polish visit.

There are great expectations from this visit in the United States, Mroz said. It is being considered an important part of the process through which Poland is currently passing on the road to a more democratic society that is expanding its links with the West. The visit itself cannot take the place of this process, but it is, I repeat, an important step in its development. We hope it will help to create a better climate for the implementation of the economic and political reforms that Poland needs so much.

[Broniarek] Where do you think the stress will be placed during the visit? On the political reforms, or on economic issues?

[Mroz] Anyone can interpret this visit politically any way he likes. However, President Bush has clearly said that the United States has neither the duty nor the right to interfere in Poland's domestic affairs. It is not his task to give Poland advice. His task is to expand the traditional links between the United States and Poland, which also lies in the interest of Americans of Polish descent, of whom I am one. The President's visit to Poland will not be an ordinary one, like his visits to, for example, the Philippines or Peru. That is my personal opinion. There are strong emotional ties between the United States and Poland, which are being strengthened by the changes occurring in Poland.

However, I think the Poles should not expect a "knight in shining armor" who will solve all the difficulties or perform a miracle. Neither Bush, nor Kohl, nor Gorbachev will do that. That is a matter for the Polish people themselves. However, these statesmen can demonstrate their support for the reform process in Poland, and are doing so.

[Broniarek] You have had an opportunity to talk to General Jaruzelski. What is your opinion of him?

[Mroz] In 1982, I wrote an article about him which was unpopular. I wrote that, after spending a certain amount of time with him and with people around him, I had convinced myself that he was a real Polish patriot. History will judge him. No one likes martial law, but

even then some people in the West, whose number increased as time went by, concluded that General Jaruzelski is full of concern for Poland. Those who have studied and are studying the year 1981 know that there were other options (possibilities of choice) than martial law. But the question was whether a Polish option or a foreign option should be taken. He took the Polish one.

I think that in 50 years time, history, which will also be written by Polish historians, will give the figure of General Jaruzelski a final assessment. I believe this assessment will not be at all as harsh as that formulated by some people directly after 1981, and even today.

**Jaruzelski Letter to Mitterrand on Western Aid**  
*LD0607224289 Warsaw PAP in English*  
1819 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 6—President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski sent to President of the Republic of France a letter with complex proposals of Poland's economic and financial cooperation with Western countries.

France will host a summit meeting of the seven most industrialized Western countries to start in Paris in a few days' time. As it is expected that the meeting will also discuss the scope and forms of assistance for the Polish economy, in his letter Wojciech Jaruzelski included a six-point list of Poland's needs and expectations towards countries-participants in the Paris summit and towards EEC countries. As of July 1, France was vested with the chairmanship of EEC.

Wojciech Jaruzelski's letter was conveyed by the director of the department in the Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations, Andrzej Olechowski, Poland's negotiator for talks with EEC.

**Walesa 'Very Much' Wishes to Meet Gorbachev**  
*LD0607140589 Warsaw PAP in English*  
1249 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 6—The "GAZETA WYBORCZA" Solidarnosc daily carries today a short interview with Lech Walesa. Asked whether he would like to meet with Mikhail Gorbachev, Walesa stated: "I would like that very much but it takes two to tango."

Asked whether he would accept an invitation if Gorbachev extended it to him, Walesa replied: "I would go immediately."

**AFP Reports Walesa 'Ready'**  
*AU0607103489 Paris AFP in English*  
1030 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 6 (AFP)—Poland's Solidarity leader Lech Walesa said Thursday he was ready to meet "immediately" with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev if invited.

In an interview with the opposition GAZETA newspaper, Mr. Walesa said he would "very much like" to meet the Kremlin leader.

"If he invites me, I shall go immediately," he said.

Mr. Gorbachev, on an official visit to Paris, said Wednesday there was no obstacle in the way of such a meeting, adding that Solidarity was an organization "recognized by the Polish people".

"I don't see any reason why, within the European framework, we could not entertain contacts with the organization which the Polish people recognize," he added.

Speaking of the presidential election which is due to take place here by July 22, Mr. Walesa repeated that he did not intend to run.

"However, there are things which do not depend on us. So, on this question we cannot be sure things will not change at the last minute," he added.

#### Coverage of 10th Sejm, Senate Sessions Continues

##### Data on Deputies, Senators

AU0607113489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
4 Jul 89 pp 1, 2

[PAP report: "The Sejm and Senate—in (Preliminary and Unofficial) Figures"]

[Text] It is easy to work out that, apart from 398 men, 62 women were elected to the Sejm. In the Senate there are 6 women. Also known is how many deputies and senators belong to which political organization. In the Sejm, 173 deputies belong to the Polish United Workers Party, 76 belong to the United Peasant Party, 27 belong to the Democratic Party, 10 belong to the Pax Association, 8 belong to the Christian Social Union, and 5 belong to the Polish Catholic-Social Union. There are 161 nonparty deputies. On the other hand, everyone in the Senate is nonparty.

And here are other, unofficial and incomplete figures obtained by a PAP journalist, for not every elected parliamentarian has submitted his questionnaire yet.

In the Sejm, there are 422 deputies with no previous Sejm experience. There are 5 deputies who belonged to the Seventh Sejm, 6 who belonged to the Eighth Sejm, and 32 who belonged to the Ninth Sejm (of course, some of them were in more than one Sejm). In the Senate, there are 97 senators with no previous Sejm experience. The remainder served in various Sejms, starting with the fourth.

Of the Sejm deputies, 116 claim they are from a workers background, 161 from a peasant background, and 161 from an intelligentsia background. Remember that not

all of them have furnished data about themselves yet. The figures dealing with senators so far reveal 11 from a workers background, 26 from a peasant background, and 55 from an intelligentsia background.

And now for the socioprofessional groups represented in the Sejm. Some 309 deputies are employed in so-called nonworker posts in the state economy. Some 17 deputies hold worker posts in this economy, and 4 are farmers. Outside the state economy, 43 deputies hold nonworker posts, 58 are private farmers, 6 are craftsmen, and 8 are old-age or invalidity pensioners.

As far as some of the professions represented in the Sejm are concerned, there are 77 engineers and technicians; 37 deputies who claim they are agricultural or forestry experts; 41 scientific employees; 25 doctors; 8 people of culture; 36 teachers; 21 journalists and writers; 34 political and social workers; 26 administrative employees; and 18 economists, planners, and accountants. Let us add that the Sejm has 27 lawyers, a very necessary profession in parliamentary work.

In the Senate, 54 senators hold non-worker posts in the state economy, and 14 hold similar posts outside the state economy. There are also 13 private farmers, 2 craftsmen, and 12 old-age and invalidity pensioners.

Scientific employees form the largest professional group in the Senate—26; followed by 10 technicians, 9 lawyers, 7 doctors, 6 people of culture, 6 teachers, and 3 journalists and writers. There are also 4 political and social workers, 2 administrative employees, and 2 Senators who have entered their names in the category "economists, planners, and accountants."

Some 372 deputies and 83 senators have higher education, whereas 15 deputies and 2 senators admit to not having completed their higher education.

The oldest Sejm deputy is Jan Sroczynski, born in 1921, and the youngest is Janusz Okrzesik, born in 1964. The largest age group consists of 211 deputies aged between 40 and 49. The oldest senator is Stanislaw Stomma, aged 81, and the youngest is Eugeniusz Wilkowski, aged 34. The largest age group in the Senate consists of 32 senators aged between 60 and 69.

##### Orzechowski on 'Successful' Session

LD0607023589 Warsaw PAP in English  
0215 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 5—Chairman of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] floor group, Marian Orzechowski, met with Polish and foreign journalists directly after today's meeting of the Sejm.

Orzechowski opened the conference by making a statement in which he recognized that the first two-day meeting of the new Polish parliament was successful. It is a successful start of our work and I think that this is joint opinion, said Orzechowski and continued:

We face two key decisions of state importance and scope, the election of the president and the formation of a new government. I can inform you that the Sejm and Senate will hold a joint meeting on Monday during which the floor will be taken by President of the United States, George Bush. There are signs that in connection with the start of the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of states [and] parties to the Warsaw Treaty and the participation in it of members of Poland's party-state leadership, and in connection with the start on Sunday of the visit of the President of the United States, the election of the president of People's Poland will take place after the conclusion of George Bush's official visit.

Next, Orzechowski answered questions. One of the questions was as follows: Some of the opposition deputies forwarded a proposal "Your President, Our Premier". Here I have in mind an article by Deputy Adam Michnik carried by the "GAZETA WYBORCZA" and an interview granted by Deputy Jacek Kuron to "KURIER POLSKI". What is the stand of the PUWP leadership on this issue?

Orzechowski replied: In my opinion, although I understand the intentions included in Michnik's article "Your President, Our Premier", one should not divide that what concerns Poland, the state and nation, supreme posts in People's Poland into yours and ours. The president, irrespective of who will be, will be a president of Poles. The premier, irrespective of his political provenience, will be the premier of the Polish Government, acting on behalf and for the benefit of Polish nation. As for the government, I think that after the election of the president it will be possible to discuss this matter in a more concrete way, to think about would be the optimal shape of the government in the current situation. My personal opinion is that it should be a government of grand coalition, precisely speaking a government of national confidence, which in a way enjoys three spheres of confidence, of political forces represented at parliament, majority of society due to its programme and forms of its implementation, and the confidence of our allies from the East and partners from the West. In light of such an idea of a government, its personal composition and other issues are secondary matters.

I am convinced that the elections of the president will be held before July 22. In theory, assuming that General Wojciech Jaruzelski would uphold his decision to resign from candidating, PUWP CC [Central Committee] would have to meet to discuss this and designate another candidate. In the other case, the second part of the

PUWP CC plenum would be held after the election of the president, to evaluate the course of parliamentary elections and draw all necessary conclusions from party's activities.

An overwhelming majority of our floor group extended its support to Wojciech Jaruzelski's candidacy. Our stand was confirmed today. The floor group continues to express its support for this candidacy.

#### PAP Summarizes Senate

LD0607024489 Warsaw PAP in English  
0207 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 5—The Senate had another meeting today. The debates were chaired by Speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski, who proposed that the agenda of the meeting should cover a report by the extraordinary committee on information by the State Electoral Commission on elections to the Senate, questions of shaping the Senate's committees, and free proposals.

#### Proposal of Message to Society

After asking permission to speak, Senator Andrzej Szczypiorski shared his thought on the Senate's yesterday debates. He said:

"I came in a sublime mood to take part in this assembly and suppose that very many Poles shared this mood. The Senate of the Republic assembled for the first time in over fifty years to debate on the condition of the state and the people. Events in Poland get violently accelerated. I have an impression that these are the last days of social calm in Poland. People are extremely irritated and, despite various government enunciations about the so-called difficult living conditions, everyday life becomes simply a torment for people."

Szczypiorski went on to say:

"The Senate has a mission to perform in Poland. It boils down primarily to shaping contemporary spirit of the people, to some toilsome and thankless but after all necessary, putting up of moral beacons on this extremely burdensome road that our society will have to cover to reach some kind of moderate affluence one day. For the coming four years, we together with the president, the Sejm, and the government will mark this difficult road and Poland expects concrete deeds and words from us."

The senator forwarded a motion that the house should adopt a message to society voicing its stand on the current situation and call on Poles to show tolerant patience still for several coming weeks. We have no experience and do not know the subject matter of the problems with which we will have to grapple.



Next, Speaker Senator Stanislaw Dembinski proposed that the agenda should include discussion on what had taken place in front of the Sejm building at night, and that the house should adopt a concrete stand on the brutal treatment of peaceful rally.

Next speakers proposed changes related primarily to the regulations and the need to set up Senate's committees.

Summing up the discussion on the debates agenda, Senate's Speaker Stelmachowski proposed that the agenda should cover the report by the extraordinary committee, questions of the Senate's committees, current events, and free proposals.

The Senate adopted the above mentioned agenda with five votes against and two abstentions.

#### Importance of Elections to the Senate

Senator Tadeusz Zielinski delivered a report on a meeting of the extraordinary committee set up to examine a report by the State electoral Commission on elections to the Senate.

The course of elections to the Senate was in tune with the electoral regulations and the time-table of the elections.

Characterizing the structure of the Senate, Zielinski noticed that all its members were non-party people. The elected senators include six women. There are ninety-five persons without any parliamentary training period. The remaining senators were deputies to the Sejm of previous terms of office. As regards the Senate's socio-professional composition, it includes sixty-seven senators employed at non-worker posts, thirteen private farmers, two handicraftsmen and twelve pensioners (there are no data about the next five persons). Eighty-two senators have higher school education, seven—average professional education, four—secondary education and one senator has basic professional education. The senators include: twelve engineers and technicians, twenty-five scientific workers, seven doctors, six artists, six teachers, three journalists, nine lawyers, two economists and two administration officials.

The senator rapporteur asked the house to adopt a draft resolution on stating validity of elections to the Senate and it adopted the resolution unanimously.

#### Procedural Questions

Next, the Senate spent much time discussing procedural questions concerning the setting up and the scope of work of individual problem committees. Over twenty senators expressed their opinion in this part of the debates. In the voting, the Senate came out for merging committees and, abiding by the list of the committees adopted on Tuesday, the Senate provisionally merged some of them.

Discussing Senator Szczypiorski's proposal to address the message to society, the Senate decided that its draft would be prepared by a committee set up for this purpose.

#### Senator Stoklosas' Speech

Discussing procedural questions, the floor was taken by Senator Henryk Stoklosa who said the following excerpts:

"I am not either from the Lech team or from the Wojciech team. Such a division into two blocs does not reflect real divisions in society. Also, Christian Democrats, Greens, Socialists, and representatives of national minorities should be represented in the Senate. People ask me what I will look like vis-a-vis ninety-eight Solidarnosc representatives, or whether I am in the opposition. I will not artificially and stupidly oppose the opposition. But I will oppose stupidity even if it could have the opposition colours. Reason and economy should decide Poland's fate in the coming years, rather than colours of an identity card. None of the voters will justify incompetence of senators referring to sympathies towards a trade mark and colour. Having two great powers on both sides, I would like disputes to be held not between political blocs but between experts in parliament. I would like to see a government of experts and practitioners, not necessarily in a system proportionate to the division of influences in the Sejm and the Senate."

In the last part of the debates, the senators adopted a stand on the incident in front of the Sejm building picketed by followers of the Confederation for Independent Poland. The Senate adopted the following resolution voicing their concern and indignation over attacking, beating up, and detaining participants in the rally, peaceful and not disturbing public order, near the building of the Sejm and the Senate in the night of July 4-5.

The Senate confirms the right of citizens to voice their convictions and opinions in every peaceful form. That is why we call on the interior minister to immediately explain the question and to invoke consequences against persons who, committing illegal attack of this kind, fan up social tensions and undermine the credibility of changes taking place in Poland.

#### Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group Convenes

LD0607022689 Warsaw PAP in English  
0044 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 5—Shortly after the conclusion of Sejm debate today, deputies of the Citizens parliamentary floor group gathered for a meeting. It was presided over by Deputy Bronislaw Geremek who said that Lech Walesa had taken part in both inaugural meetings of the Sejm and Senate. He waited for the oath-taking by deputies and senators of the citizens floor group, being convinced that this oath closes one stage and opens another.

Deputy Geremek also said that the floor's presidium had authorized Deputy Kuron to speak at the first plenary session of the Sejm because, he stressed, only formal approach to the resignation of the government would be unclear to public opinion, hence the decision that the floor's representative should speak in the discussion.

Geremek further said that the viewpoint represented by Deputy Michnik in an article "Your President, Our Premier" (GAZETA WYBORCZA) was just his private proposal. He added that the floor's presidium decided not to reject Deputy Michnik's opinion, but to express that this is not the group's position.

The discussants filed many motions concerning, among other things, the continuation of TV coverage of the parliamentary debates. Geremek told the deputies that the presidium of the group had decided to send a delegation to the next session of the European Parliament. The delegation will include 4 representatives of the citizens' deputy floor group headed by Senator Janusz Ziolkowski.

#### Group Officials Elected

LD0207213689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish  
1800 GMT 2 Jul 89

[Excerpts] A meeting of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club was held in Warsaw. It was attended by Lech Walesa. In the morning, the deputies and the senators belonging to the club discussed separately issues relating to the regulations of the two chambers of parliament and the appointment of club members to their presidiums. [passage omitted]

In a debate on changes to the Sejm regulations, it was suggested that the number of the deputy Sejm speakers should be reduced from four to three, that the socio-economic council and voivodship teams of deputies be dissolved, and that the procedure examining the draft laws directed from the Sejm to the Senate be sorted out. A lively debate was caused by the issue of the Sejm commissions. A preference was expressed for dividing them according to the topics they dealt with and not by ministries. The senators belonging to the club have prepared their own draft law on the appointment of the organs of the Senate.

As the next item of the agenda, the draft law on the National Assembly which was prepared by the opposition and Solidarity side, was presented. This is modeled on the relevant law of 1920. It was stated that the law should (?deal) with working out of the rules of the assembly. Consideration was given to the election of the president by secret ballot and to the auditioning of the presidential candidate.

The Citizens' Parliamentary Club authorities were selected. Earlier, Bronislaw Geremek was elected chairman, and Andrzej Wielowieyski was elected first deputy chairman. Four deputy chairmen of the club have been

elected now: Jacek Kuron, Jan Maria [surname indistinct], Gabriel Janowski, and Janusz [surname indistinct], as well as two secretaries: Henryk Wujec and [name indistinct]. The club also has elected its candidates for secretaries of the Sejm and the Senate and the Tribunal of State.

[Warsaw PAP in English at 1414 GMT on 2 July adds the following information: ["Deputies from the citizens' parliamentary floor group decided not to put up a candidate for the post of speaker of the Sejm, but forward the candidacy of Olga Krzyzanowska to the post of deputy Sejm speaker.

[Senators of the citizens' floor group decided to recommend Andrzej Stelmachowski for the post of speaker of the Senate and Zofia Kuratowska, Andrzej Wielowieyski and Jozef Slisz for the posts of deputy Senate speakers.]

#### Minister Olesiak Queried on Economic Mechanisms

LD0207154689 Warsaw PAP in English  
1407 GMT 2 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 2—"The functioning of economic mechanisms should be restored," said Polish Vice-Premier, Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Food Economy Kazimierz Olesiak in an interview granted to DZIENNIK LUDOWY.

The minister also said that "one should not be deceived that we will be able to achieve equilibrium without a free market food economy, which in fact means the restoration of economic mechanisms.

"Inflation was mounting. Escalated were demands for higher wages, prices for production means for agriculture started to rapidly increase. In that situation, I motioned several times for the increase of procurement prices. Such decisions were taken by the government in November, March and April. Through this we were rescuing the food market, we were chasing the runaway inflation and increasing prices of production means. A futile chase that was.

"The Rakowski government plans to introduce a normal food market. Unfortunately, realities stand in its way, although in my opinion, the government did not show determination in this field. Introduction of free market mechanisms could have been carried out at the beginning of this year when the procurement of livestock was still at a high level and there existed necessary reserves securing the entire operation. This vicious circle has to be broken, otherwise we will not restore the balance in the food market. Now the situation forces the undertaking of the decision," said the vice-premier.

**Sociopolitical Group Views Government Performance**  
*AU0307111589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish*  
*30 Jun 89 pp 1,2*

[PAP report: "Nine Months of Government Work"]

[Excerpt] The Council of Ministers Sociopolitical Committee held a meeting on 29 June, under the chairmanship of Aleksander Kwasniewski. It examined the social and political activity of the government of Premier M. F. Rakowski over the past 9 months. This government, said the Committee, has been pursuing a strategy of economic liberalization and political democratization, including an elimination of the heritage of Stalinism.

The basis of a new economic order has been created by this government, said the Committee. The influence of the administration on economic units has been curtailed considerably. This is having a positive impact on economic processes; however, the results can only be visible after a dozen months or so. They would have been visible sooner if Western countries had fulfilled their intentions to normalize financial and economic cooperation.

In its work, the government guided itself by the principles of national accord, as a result of which the "round-table" talks came to pass. These are of historic significance. They have brought about a new sociopolitical situation in Poland. In particular, they have led to the registration of "Solidarity," the elections to the Sejm and Senate, and the creation of the office of president.

With the cooperation of the church and of scientific and intellectual circles, the bill on associations was worked out. This document fully takes into account the interests of a pluralistic Polish society, revitalizes society's activity, and encourages the development of various civic initiatives.

Relations between the Polish state and Catholic Church have been settled. The fundamental principle of full freedom of conscience and conviction, and that of the secular nature of the state, has been confirmed.

The government's intention was to expand broadly-understood civic rights and liberties. Every citizen may keep his passport at home. The rules governing the use of satellite television have been relaxed. New press titles can now be published solely on the basis of registration, and not on the basis of a permit, as was the case before. Polish-language and foreign-language printed matter can now be brought into Poland for scientific or private purposes without any restrictions.

The Council of Ministers Sociopolitical Committee confirmed the correctness of the political and economic reform paths that have been adopted, and the methods of pursuing them. The results of some of this activity can already be seen, while the results of others will materialize later.

The Committee also examined draft provisions of the 1989-92 economic regulatory program. These provisions are, among other things, the result of consultations with the IMF and World Bank. The nucleus of the program consists of activities designed to consolidate economic self-control mechanisms, rationalize social expenditures, and eliminate the budget deficit. [passage omitted]

**National Trade Union Accord Council Begins**

**Discusses Market Mechanisms**

*LD0607101589 Warsaw PAP in English*  
*2345 GMT 5 Jul 89*

[Text] Warsaw, July 5—The Executive Committee of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ during today's meeting discussed proposals of introducing market mechanisms to the food economy.

The final stand of the OPZZ will be adopted after consultations of government proposals with national organizations and OPZZ voivodship branches.

Participating in the debates for Trade Unions, Jozef Oleksy proposed to continue the discussion on this issue in a working mode or during a four-way meeting (OPZZ, "Solidarnosc", "Solidarnosc" of individual farmers, and the central union of farmers, agricultural circles and organization). Oleksy also said that if this solution would not be successful, then the government would hold negotiations with each of the partners separately, and stressed that this was an urgent problem.

Minister of Finance Andrzej Wroblewski presented the conditions and predictable effects of proposed introduction of market mechanisms to the food economy. He said that proposals aimed to halt the growth of subsidies, to create considerable freedom of prices for farmers, branches producing means of production and food producers. It is estimated that the implementation of these proposals would mean the rise of food by an average of 80 percent. The increase of prices for meat would be even greater in the first stage. Wroblewski said that this operation would be accompanied by money compensations.

Responding to warnings about strikes, which can take place as result of the introduction of these proposals, Wroblewski said: Either we risk riots due to the introduction of market mechanisms to the food economy or due to the lack of food. The minister added that the final decision on the introduction of these mechanisms would be undertaken by the parliament.

Trade union activists negatively referred to the decision on freezing wages and prices.

### **Supports Miodowicz Independent Action**

*LD0607125189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish  
1200 GMT 6 Jul 89*

[Text] The Council of the National Trade Union Accord [OPZZ] is in session in Warsaw. Opening the meeting, Alfred Miodowicz said that the current situation in the trade union movement and in Poland forces him to ask the OPZZ Council to state whether he has the full support, and whether he can act independently or not. He stressed that the new situation has arisen because OPZZ did not have support during the elections from the Polish United Workers' Party. Mentioning the slogan of GAZETA WYBORCZA—Your president but our government—Alfred Miodowicz stated that if such an idea came true then OPZZ would become an open opposition. If it is possible to find a common language with the government in order to resolve the problems of the working people, then the situation will be ideal.

Next, he said that the coming 5 months will be the most difficult. Irrespective of the more free market mechanism being introduced in the food economy sector, or not being introduced, the food market will collapse.

Alfred Miodowicz did receive the requested support from the Council and at present debate is in progress on structural changes in OPZZ.

### **Miodowicz Proposals Rejected**

*LD0707064489 Warsaw PAP in English  
2320 GMT 6 Jul 89*

[Text] Warsaw, July 6—The All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ Council met here today to discuss structural and organizational changes, which would enable the trade union to efficiently function in the changed social and political situation.

Because of the defeat suffered by members of OPZZ leadership running from the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] mandates in parliamentary elections, Alfred Miodowicz turned to members of the council to express their confidence for OPZZ leadership and for him personally, and their support necessary in the new political and political conditions. He also added that there is a need to clearly define OPZZ's role as a legal, constructive opposition against the government.

Trade unions affiliated within the OPZZ remain in fact, inspite of trade union pluralism, the only authentic trade unions in work places. Expectations of "Solidarnosc" that its union will reach 7 to 9 million members after its registration did not come true. Up to now there were very few declarations of withdrawing from OPZZ. Our ranks still affiliate about 7 million people, said Miodowicz.

The council rejected Miodowicz's motion and extended its support for the democratically elected leadership. Members of the council recognized the accelerating of

the process of uniting of the trade union movement divided into 135 national organizations, and the strengthening of the branch system in the OPZZ as the most important issues.

The council decided to direct proposals of model changes for consultations in OPZZ member organizations which are to be held to the end of August.

Responding to questions concerning resignation from his membership in the PUWP Central Committee Political Bureau, Miodowicz said: I will do this when our road will be different with that of the Central Committee, however as long as Wojciech Jaruzelski is PUWP Central Committee first secretary our roads are still the same. I obliged myself in front of trade union chairmen of 210 largest enterprises that in due time, I would act in tune with the interests of the trade union movement.

During the meeting, some of the participants called for the holding of an extraordinary union congress. Miodowicz said that an earlier congress will most probably be held at the beginning of next year.

### **Transportation, Communication Workers Strike**

#### **Strikes Continue in Various Towns**

*LD0107090189 Warsaw PAP in English  
2131 GMT 30 Jun 89*

[Text] Warsaw, June 30—Strikes were continued or staged today in some transport and communication enterprises.

For example, municipal bus transportation in Stalowa Wola continued work stoppage. Drivers of the PKS state bus authority branch in Torun and Chelmno stopped work. Residents of Grudziadz are also deprived of municipal transportation. In Wroclaw, municipal transportation functioned normally but strike alert was announced. Residents of Bydgoszcz were once again taken by surprise by strikes of transport workers. Nonetheless, following talks, the strike action was suspended there. The case was similar in Czestochowa where the strike in the municipal transport enterprise was ended after 6 hours.

Nearly 180 employees of the voivodship telephone and radio-communication station in Gdansk were on strike.

Telephone and telegraph operators and technical services continued their strike in the inter-city telephone center in Gdansk. Their demands were supported by the crew of the inter-city center in Wroclaw which proclaimed a one-hour protest strike in solidarity.

All of these strikes and protests chiefly evolved around economic matters.



**Bydgoszcz Workers Return to Work**

LD3006172389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish  
1400 GMT 30 Jun 89

[Text] The strike action of the workers of the Motorized Transportation Communication Workers' Enterprise in Bydgoszcz, which also encompasses activities in Torun and Wloclawek Voivodships, was suspended at 1200 GMT. The strikers put forward wage demands.

**Illegal Rally Held, Chants 'Soviets Go Home'**

LD0607213889 Warsaw PAP in English  
1955 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Krakow, July 6—An illegal rally of the Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN), organized [words indistinct] was held at the foot of the monument to Adam Mickiewicz at the main market here this afternoon.

About 300 people assembled at the foot of the monument and sharply condemned intervention by the law enforcement organs in Warsaw against the KPN picket in front of the Sejm. They also demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland, chanting "Soviets Go Home."

**Paper Responds to Michnik Commentary on USSR**

LD0607170889 Warsaw PAP in English  
1351 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 6—In a commentary carried on July 4 by the GAZETA WYBORCZA SOLIDARNOSC paper and headlined "Farewell to Brezhnev Doctrine", Adam Michnik expressed his enthusiasm for the ongoing processes in the Soviet Union and for Vadim Zagladin's statement to the effect that his country is going to maintain contacts with every government elected in Poland.

Taking a stand on Michnik's commentary, Wlodzimierz Lozinski asked in today's TRYBUNA LUDU daily: "First, what else could have Michnik expected from a Soviet politician committed to perestroika? Did he want Zagladin to answer the French that the Soviet Union would like a vassal-like and non-sovereign government, formed under the dictation of Moscow, to exist in Poland?"

"Second, does Michnik not give himself too many credits for shaping Soviet internal and foreign perestroika, like in de-Stalinization of Polish-Soviet relations?"

"Unfortunately, he does not see or appreciate the fact that this evolution is taking place between friends and only in these frames can it develop."

"Let us repeat clearly what has been stated many times, also in the declaration signed by Jaruzelski and Gorbachev two years ago, that the sovereignty of both states

bases on simultaneous mutual confidence, friendship, and cooperation. Let us add that we should be even more concerned with these elements of relations than the Soviet Union, which I should not explain to Adam Michnik."

"Since I have to do it, I will also add that Soviet fears or objections will not be raised only by such 'every Polish government' which will be able to respect the principles of friendship and confidence, losing nothing of its sovereignty," Lozinski stated.

**Monument To Boleslaw Bierut To Be Demolished**

LD0607201689 Warsaw PAP in English  
1931 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Lublin, July 6—The pompous monument to Boleslaw Bierut here is to be dismantled. The square named after him, where the monument stands, will be left without name and the nearby Bierut Street will be changed to Lwowska Street.

The above decisions were taken by the Municipal People's Council here today.

**Army Delegation To Visit U.S. in July, August**

LD0707030189 Warsaw PAP in English  
0048 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 6—A Polish Army delegation, led by deputy minister for general affairs and vice-minister of national defence, General Antoni Jasinski, will visit the U.S. at the end of July - beginning of August 1989 at the invitation from the combined staff of the U.S. Armed Forces.

In its invitation, the U.S. side defined that the visit would be a truly historic moment in the life of both peoples. It will provide an opportunity to discuss questions of interest to both sides and enable them to get acquainted with life of the American nation that, as it was stressed, owed so much to Poles, starting from Tadeusz Kosciuszko to present-day Americans of Polish origin.

**NOVOSTI Extols New Soviet SU-27 Fighter**

AU3006153389 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI  
in Polish 28 Jun 89 p 4

[NOVOSTI article 'especially' for ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI by Yevgeniy Smirnov: "The New Soviet SU-27 Fighter"]

[Text] Today, one can hear from many Soviet pilots positive opinions about the new SU-27 fighter. Masters of advanced flying are even in love with it. Some even go as far as to say that they take the strain of flying this aircraft better than when flying other aircraft.

Why have pilots fallen in love with the new SU model? Perhaps mainly because, with all its high combat values, the SU-27 is simple to fly and unbeatable in performance.

The Anglo-American publication "Jane's" describes the SU-27 as the equivalent of the F-15 fighter. Of course, this is flattery, for although the F-15 really does have high combat qualities, the SU-27 is considerably "younger." Therefore, more recent achievements of science and technology were applied to its construction. In any case, the SU-27 (or rather, a special version of it designated by the number P-42), has deprived the American F-15 of five world records for the fastest climb to altitudes of 3, 6, 12, and 15 km.

Simply saying that the SU-27 has "established world records" means next to nothing. However, when one compares the two aircraft's performances, the difference becomes clear. The F-15 took 77 seconds to reach an altitude of 15 km, but the P-42 took only 70.3 seconds. In an aerial fight, 7 seconds are an eternity.

The very fact that the new Soviet fighter stole 5 world records illustrates its speed capabilities.

Another of the SU-27's major achievements is its long range, which enables it to be used for long aerial patrols far from base. In this respect, the SU-27 has no equal anywhere in the world.

Nevertheless, in the opinion of fighter pilots, the SU-27's most valuable characteristic is its maneuverability, thanks to certain aerodynamic features and special equipment. Basically, the new Soviet fighter is no more maneuverable than the nimblest fighters of World War II, but it is its speed that makes it one of today's best combat machines.

The SU-27's performance is best illustrated by the following figures. It performs a sharp turn at a moderate altitude in 13-14 seconds. During a wingover, it only loses 500 meters in altitude, extremely important in aerial combat, especially when getting out of the line of fire.

Of the other qualities pointed out by military pilots, one should mention the following: An efficient electronic remote-controlled steering system, with quadruple backup in case of failure; an exceptionally high drag factor per unit of weight, which enables the aircraft to perform advanced aerobatic maneuvers, including the loop and one and one half loop at high and low speeds; and the possibility to mount large quantities of various weapons on external fixtures, of which there are 10.

Finally, the aircraft's incontestability. The SU-27 is made of the latest highly durable and light materials invented in the USSR recently, and the latest discoveries in the field of aerodynamics have been applied. In fact, a combat machine has been built which is unbeatable in every situation, from take-off to landing.

While on the subject of landing, the SU-27 makes soft landings thanks to the aerodynamic qualities of the wing, which create a cushion of air, as it were.

The aircraft is equipped with a device that prevents it from approaching extreme situations. This device prevents the pilot from exceeding the maximum permissible angle of flight, and prevents stalls, and especially corkscrew spins. It also stops the pilot from pulling the joystick too far against his body and involuntarily subjecting the aircraft to impermissible high strain, during which he could lose consciousness. All this is important in aerial combats, when a situation can change rapidly and a pilot can exceed safety limits.

At the 38th International Air and Space Show in Bourges, the SU-27 will carry out a series of aerobatic maneuvers, including a figure of eight (immediately after take-off), a "bell", low-speed rolls, and steep turns at 9 G. This will enable visitors to the Air Show to see the extraordinary maneuvering characteristics of the SU-27.

**Defense Spokesman on Glider Collision in Lubin**  
*LD0607062589 Warsaw PAP in English*  
1943 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 5—Performing a training flight near Lubin, Legnica Voivodship, a plane from the airforce unit of the northern group of the Soviet Army collided with a glider of the "pirate" type at 13:04 today, a press spokesman of the National Defence Ministry said. The glider's pilot Maciej Majewski from the Lubin aeroclub was killed and the military plane landed at home airport.

A special commission made up of Polish and Soviet military experts will examine causes of the collision.

**Portuguese Communist Party Leader Cunhal Visits**

**Cunhal Arrives in Warsaw**  
*LD0207155189 Warsaw PAP in English*  
1405 GMT 2 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 2—Secretary General of the Portuguese Communist Party Alvaro Cunhal arrived in Warsaw today at the invitation from PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The Portuguese guest was greeted at the Warsaw airport by Political Bureau member, PUWP Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek.

**Jaruzelski Receives Cunhal**

LD0307222689 Warsaw PAP in English  
1832 GMT 3 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 3—PUWP Central Committee [Polish United Workers Party] First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski received Secretary General of the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) Alvaro Cunhal.

The two discussed the current social and political situation in both countries and the work of the PUWP and the PCP against that background, as well as some international issues and the questions of international cooperation of communist and workers' parties.

**Cunhal Leaves for Berlin**

LD0507225989 Warsaw PAP in English  
1940 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 5—Secretary General of the Portuguese Communist Party Alvaro Cunhal ended his visit to Poland today and left for Berlin.

On the final day of his visit Cunhal met with Political Bureau member, PUWP Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek.

**Government, Church Sign Pact on Universities**

LD0107210989 Warsaw PAP in English  
1838 GMT 1 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 1—The Polish Government and the Conference of the Episcopate of Poland signed an agreement here today on regulating the status of papal schools of higher learning, and the procedure and range of recognition by the state of the scientific titles and degrees conferred by these schools.

The key provision of the agreement are equal rights of all papal universities and state universities in Poland. Work on the agreement was conducted by a government-church team set up on April 4, 1985.

There are five papal schools of higher learning in Poland. All of them offer academic theological studies to both clergymen and laymen. The legal situation of these schools with regard to the state had not been regulated thus far.

In the name of the Polish Government, the agreement was signed by Minister of National Education Prof. Jacek Fisiak and in the name of the Conference of the Episcopate of Poland, by chairman of the Commission of the Episcopate for Catholic Science Archbishop, Krakow's Metropolitan Cardinal Franciszek Macharski.

The agreement complements acts regulating the legal situation of churches and religious unions passed recently by the Sejm.

Said Minister Fisiak: "Papal universities have for many years cooperated with many foreign centres. At present, they will be able to further their activities also in cooperation with state universities in this country."

**Rakowski Meets Cardinal Gulbinowicz in Worclaw**

LD0207042989 Warsaw Domestic Service  
in Polish 1800 GMT 1 Jul 89

[Text] Mieczyslaw Rakowski today paid a visit to Cardinal Henryk Gulbinowicz at his archbishop's seat at Ostrow Tumski in Wroclaw. An exchange of views took place on the economic and social situation in the country following elections to the Sejm and Senate, particularly concerning the situation before the election of supreme parliamentary and state authorities. A considerable part of the talks were devoted to the role of the Catholic Church in Poland during the historical transformations taking place in our country.

**Ceausescu RCP Plenum Address Published**

AU0307170789 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian  
29 Jun 89 pp 1-4

["Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Speech at the Plenum of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee" in Bucharest on 28 June]

[Text] Esteemed comrades: For 2 days now the party Central Committee plenum has discussed the Program-Directive, Theses, and political-organizational measures on the convening and preparation of the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP].

The plenum also examined the activity carried out by our whole people under party leadership to commendably fulfill this year's socioeconomic development plan and the plan provisions of 1990, the last year of the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

In complete unanimity, the plenum decided that the 14th RCP Congress take place from 20-25 November this year and adopted the Program-Directive and Theses of the Congress, documents which will be published and submitted for broad discussions within the party, mass, and civic organizations with the participation of all our people.

This broad democratic discussion within the party and with the entire nation actually is a continuation of debates conducted up to now on the basis of the April 1988 Theses and of the documents of the great democratic forum of November 1988.

It can be said that the Program-Directive and the Theses for the 14th RCP Congress sum up the discussions that have been conducted for a year within the party and with the entire nation, and represent our nation's revolutionary thinking, awareness, and will to unflinchingly implement the party program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensuring Romania's firm advance toward communism. (loud, prolonged applause)

Esteemed comrades, the documents unanimously adopted by the Central Committee plenum, which are to be discussed by the entire party and people and then presented at the 14th RCP Congress, scientifically examine the road traveled by the Romanian people in their socioeconomic development, in the formation of the nation and the united nation state, in the development of the forces of production, of science, and culture in general, and they examine the great achievements attained in socialist construction and the current development stage of the Romanian socialist society.

On this basis, the Program-Directive and Theses set the guidelines for our country's development in the new stage up to the years 2000-10. With justified pride, these documents emphasize the great achievements attained by the Romanian people in their socioeconomic development, in building the socialist society, and outline

excellent prospects for successfully achieving the higher stage of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's firm advance toward the golden dream of communism. (Loud, prolonged applause)

Romania and our people have reached such a stage of development that it is vitally necessary to examine—even very briefly—the road traveled throughout its history, beginning with the first centralized Dacian State 2,060 years ago up to the present. In the discussions in the party and with all working people, it is necessary to emphatically point out the struggle waged by the Romanian people to form the nation as well as their own language and culture to achieve the Romanian nation and the united nation state.

To understand Romania's current stage properly, it is necessary to outline the most important events of the struggle for the formation of the Romanian provinces and to emphasize the close link that has always existed among Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania. In this context, we have to vigorously stress the long-lasting and firm struggles against foreign domination and the empires of that time, and the fact that only because of the struggle against foreign domination and of defending—with weapon in hand—the people's independence and right to form their own united state were our people able to achieve their aspirations and make the dreams of the most progressive representatives of our people come true—the dream of our nation itself. (Loud, lively applause)

It is necessary to emphatically point out that the progressive political and social forces always rose from among the people; they always gave priority to the interests of the people and to their free and independent future.

We have to emphasize the important role of the Horia, Closca, and Crisan revolution at the end of the 18th Century, the Tudor Vladimirescu revolution of 1821, and the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848 which played a particularly important role in the formation of the nation, the united Romanian nation state, and in the struggle against foreign domination and for full national independence. (Loud, prolonged applause)

We will not be able to properly understand the current stage of development of the Romanian society without emphasizing the importance of the unification of the Romanian provinces in 1859 under Cuza's rule, an event that marked a new point in the Romanian people's millenium-old history, and that opened up the path for our homeland's modern development.

Likewise, we have to emphasize very firmly the proclamation of independence and the 1877-78 war of independence that put an end to our dependence on the Ottoman Empire, thus marking a new point in the development process of our nation and our people.



We must also very firmly stress the historical importance of the unification of Transylvania and Romania in 1918 and the formation of the united nation state that created the necessary conditions for the development of our nation, of the forces of production, and for our people's development in general. (Loud, prolonged applause)

Our homeland's entire history is the result of the hard struggle, weapon in hand, against foreign domination, for progress, freedom, and independence waged by the people's masses and by all our people, the true forger of our nation and our socioeconomic progress. (Loud, prolonged applause)

True, throughout these historic stages, our homeland's development process was hampered by the domination of foreign empires for hundreds of years; with Romania's transition to capitalist development in the second half of the last century our development was hampered by the penetration by foreign capital and monopolies into our country, because they mastered and robbed our country's riches up to the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation of August 1944.

As I emphasized in my speech to the great democratic forum of November last year, precisely because of the domination of foreign capital and monopolies Romania continued to stay a poorly developed country and our people's standard of living was very low, while in the years of capitalist development alone imperialist monopolies swallowed more than \$100 billion in Romania.

All this contributed to the fact that our people stayed poor, as Eminescu [Romanian poet] said "poor in a poor country."

The discussions within the party and with our entire people have to emphasize the decisive role played by the revolution for social and national liberation of 1944, which eliminated imperialist domination for good and paved the way to genuine independence, thus creating conditions enabling the people to build their future according to their wish, without any foreign interference.

After 23 August 1944, the Romanian Armed Forces, together with the entire nation, heroically struggled, side by side with the Soviet Army, to completely free our homeland from the Hitlerite and Horthyist armies, and then to free Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Austria up to final victory over Hitlerite Germany.

At the same time, revolutionary struggles aimed at democratic development and the transition to building the new social system were taking place in our country.

The unity between the workers class and the single party of the workers class was achieved in this short time, and the unity of all patriotic, democratic forces, and of the whole people strengthened, thus creating the necessary conditions for the transition to the successful construction of socialism.

In the 40 years of socialist construction, especially in the wake of the Ninth RCP Congress in 1965, the Romanian people, under our glorious Communist Party's leadership, covered several historic stages and achieved such a level of socioeconomic development and civilization in general as could not be achieved in hundreds of years—I should stress especially—in the whole of capitalist development.

All this proves, on the basis of undeniable facts, that solely after eliminating capitalist exploitation, oppression, and foreign domination, and after the transition to building the new system—socialism—was our homeland able to attain these excellent achievements in its development process in general; only thus was it able to vigorously increase the forces of production and industry more than 135-fold, of which 120-fold was following the Ninth RCP Congress, agricultural output 10-fold, of which 6-fold after the Ninth RCP Congress, and the national revenue 40-fold, of which 33-fold in the same period after the Ninth RCP Congress.

Actually, both the Program-Directive and the Theses for the 14th RCP Congress extensively feature the vigorous development of the forces of production throughout the country and the tremendous increase in the fixed assets, housing construction, and other cultural establishments, which have radically changed the appearance of our homeland and the standard of living of our nation in general.

Undoubtedly, as the documents adopted at the plenum justifiably emphasize, there have been difficulties, there have been a number of shortfalls, there were abuses and violations of the socialist law at a certain point, but our Communist Party drew the necessary conclusions, especially after the Ninth RCP Congress, and adopted measures to completely eliminate these situations, so that such illegal things may never happen again.

Necessary measures were also adopted to vigorously develop workers revolutionary democracy by achieving a new democratic framework that will ensure the active participation of all people in consciously forging their free, independent, socialist, and communist future. (Loud, prolonged applause)

What can be said and what we should stress emphatically when we review the path covered in socialist construction and when, with justified pride, we consider the high stage reached by Romania today, which, from a poorly developed country, turned into an agrarian-industrial

country in full development on the basis of the most modern achievements of science, technology, and human knowledge in general?

One can say and we have to emphasize very clearly that only socialism was able to ensure these great and wonderful achievements of our nation. (Loud, prolonged applause) One must also stress that socialism has demonstrated its strength and vigor in general and that it represents mankind's future of freedom, well-being, equality, and peace. (Loud applause)

On the basis of our achievements and the successes registered in the development of socialism in general, we must adopt a firm attitude against any attempts of slandering socialism. We believe that concerns with perfecting the development of socialism in various countries should not proceed from a position of negating or underrating the strength of socialism, but from a position of affirming the strength and superiority of socialism—which represents the future of the whole of mankind. The attempt of reactionary and imperialist circles to destabilize and slander socialism for the obvious purpose of hampering or at least delaying, in one way or another, the road or march of people toward eliminating oppression and inequality and toward a better and more just world must be rejected with determination.

We must very emphatically stress that only socialism guarantees the peoples conditions to eliminate backwardness and poverty and achieve genuine socioeconomic independence, well-being and happiness, peace, and cooperation among all peoples in the world! (Loud, prolonged applause)

The discussions that will continue within the party and with our entire people must firmly emphasize the importance of the application of general laws of social development and of the principles of scientific socialism to the specific conditions in each country.

Starting from the fact that socialism is being built in conditions that differ from one country to another and that there are no patterns and "models," we must constantly bear in mind that socialism can be built only on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism, of eliminating inequalities and oppression of man by man, and on the basis of achieving new production relations and genuine social justice.

At the same time, we have to vigorously emphasize the basic and decisive role played by socialist ownership over the means of production and the fact that the ownership of the whole people and cooperative ownership constitute one of the vital requirements for building the new system. This requires us to constantly work to strengthen socialist ownership and to perfect the means of properly managing this ownership by all working people's collectives.

Private ownership of the main means of production and the division of society in antagonistic classes—oppressors and oppressed—are, in fact, a violation of the objective laws of nature and social development, and the result of violence and force.

Social development itself and the development of science and technology called for large-scale industry and joint social labor and, as life has proved, only one large piece of property for agriculture can ensure the necessary conditions for the continuous development of production forces. What socialism must really achieve is to eliminate private ownership of the means of production and transfer them into the hands of the true owners, workers, and intelligentsia, and the land into the peasant's hands as part of agricultural production cooperatives, of the great socialist ownership.

Any diminution of the role of large socialist industrial and agricultural ownership, the return to any form of capitalist ownership—even small property—means stepping back decades and means endangering not only the development of socialism but also the socioeconomic development of peoples, their well-being, and independence.

One should not forget Lenin's theses that "small property generates capitalism and bourgeoisie, every day and every hour, spontaneously and on a mass scale."

While we think of all these things, within the broad democratic discussions that will take place before the Congress, we should most forcefully emphasize the need to continuously strengthen and develop socialist ownership and defend it as one of the vital requirements for the future development of our homeland, which—as it has been demonstrated in practice during the years of socialist construction—will ensure the continuous progress of the forces of production, science, and culture, the raising of the material and intellectual living standard of our people, the raising of our homeland to new pinnacles of progress and civilization, and the strengthening of Romania's sovereignty and independence! (Loud, prolonged applause; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu and the people!")

Esteemed comrades, you are well aware of our achievements in the first 3 years of the current 5-year plan, during which industrial production increased annually by more than 5 percent.

In the first 6 months of this year we have achieved an average 6 percent increase in industrial production and we have all we need to appropriately fulfill the plan for the entire year.

In agriculture, in the first 3 years of the current 5-year plan, we have obtained an annual output of over 30 million tonnes of grain. In the first 6 months of this year,

we have in general obtained a good agricultural output. Currently we are in the process of carrying out the harvesting of the summer crops.

Barley has been harvested on about 83 percent of the area sown to this crop and one can state that we have achieved the richest crop so far. In general, we will obtain at least 7,000 kg barley per hectare throughout the country. (Loud, prolonged applause)

So far, 22 counties have obtained yields of over 7,000 kg and 14 counties over 7,500 kg per hectare. There is a county that came close to 8,000 kg output. They are short of only 20 kg. Had they harvested without losses they could have exceeded 8,000 kg!

There are three agricultural production cooperatives which achieved yields of 11,000 kg of barley per hectare. As a matter of fact, this is the objective of the new agrarian revolution in the next decade, and up to the year 2000. (Loud and vigorous applause)

A number of 27 agricultural units have obtained yields of 9,000 and over 10,000 kg grains per hectare and 102 cooperative and state units have obtained yields of 7,000 and 8,000 kg of grain per hectare.

Indeed, we can state that the current barley yields demonstrate the great potential of the Romanian socialist agriculture and that, the application of the requirements of the new agrarian revolution regarding the agricultural operations has already begun to assert itself.

The wheat harvesting has already started and is being carried out in a large number of counties. On the basis of the results and estimates we can say that, also in the case of wheat, we will reap the largest crops ever!

Likewise, all the other agricultural cultures such as corn, sunflower, and others, look good. Therefore, this year we have all the necessary conditions to obtain, as we have planned, the best agricultural yields so far!

We registered important achievements in all socioeconomic sectors.

We should note that all these results that we have scored in the 5-year plan and during the whole decade, have been registered under conditions of a difficult world economic crisis which, as of 1980, has more or less affected all the countries of the world, particularly developing countries.

The socioeconomic development of our homeland created the necessary conditions to ensure the annual repayment of the foreign debt and to eliminate it in March this year. As I have already mentioned, this represents a great victory, which proves the power of our economy, which

enabled us to secure the true independence and sovereignty of our homeland, no longer to depend on and pay tribute to anybody—whatever form this might take—since interest is also a form of usury, a tribute. (Loud applause)

During this decade we have eliminated the foreign debt, while we allocated over 2,000 billion lei, the equivalent of about \$200 billion, for our homeland's socioeconomic development. At the same time, starting with 1980 and up to 1989, on two occasions we have increased the real remuneration of the working people and also increased all pensions.

As is well known, as of last year, the minimum remuneration has also been raised from 1,500 lei to 2,000 lei per month and by the end of July all working people will benefit by higher wages.

At the same time, state-financed sociocultural expenses have grown from 9,975 lei per family in 1980 to 12,436 lei in 1985 and to 14,900 lei in this 5-year plan period and up to 1990.

A general improvement in the material and intellectual standard of living of our whole nation has been recorded, proving with the force of facts that everything we achieve in Romania serves the development of our homeland, the well-being of our people, and the raising of the material and intellectual level of our whole nation, the supreme goal of the policy promoted by our party and the essence of the comprehensively developed socialist society that we are successfully building in Romania. (Loud, prolonged applause)

At the same time, in the first part of this year we have canceled the debts of agricultural production cooperatives worth over 113 billion lei, which demonstrates both the power of our national economy and financial system and the correct policy of assisting the development of agriculture, in order to ensure its increased contribution to the general development of our country. (Loud, prolonged applause)

All the achievements that we have registered during this 5-year plan period—like everything we have achieved during the years of socialism—prove with the power of undeniable facts the correctness of the policy promoted by our Communist Party to creatively apply the objective laws and the principles of scientific socialism to the realities prevailing in our country.

The outstanding achievements in developing our homeland tellingly prove the superiority of socialism and the fact that only when people become true masters of their destinies can backwardness be eliminated in a relatively short period of time, can socioeconomic progress, well-being, independence, and sovereignty of the country be ensured.

We should most forcefully stress that everything we have achieved is the result of the work full of self-denial carried out by our wonderful workers' class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and all the working people, regardless of nationality, and of our whole nation, who, in a complete unity, unflinchingly implement the domestic and foreign policy of our homeland and who ensure Romania's progress toward new peaks of progress and civilization.

For all these great achievements, from the rostrum of the party Central Committee plenum, I convey warmest congratulations to the workers' class, peasantry, and intelligentsia and to our whole nation and I extend to them wishes for new and ever greater successes in all fields of activity, in raising our homeland to new levels of socioeconomic development, well-being, and progress. (Lively, loud applause; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu—heroism. Romania—communism!")

Dear comrades, in the next 6 months we must do all we can to commendably fulfill the plan for this year, both in the field of industry and agriculture, as well as in all the other areas. Let us conclude the current year with the best results and thus lay a solid foundation for the successful fulfillment of the entire 5-year plan!

The plan provisions for our socioeconomic development in 1990, unanimously adopted by the plenum, ensure the appropriate fulfillment of the provisions for the whole, 1986-90, 5-year plan. In 1990, the industrial commodity production will be about 40 percent higher and the agricultural output 35 percent higher than in 1985. I would like to draw particular attention to the activity of foreign trade, primarily to the measures required to ensure a steady, daily achievement of the production earmarked for exports and of the export itself.

Likewise, we will have to firmly fulfill all provisions of our plans and programs for socioeconomic development, for improving the quality of products in every sector, and for more markedly increasing labor productivity, economic efficiency, and profitability.

We should take all the necessary measures so that, as of the beginning of the 3d quarter of this year, we will not register any losses in enterprises or products.

Let us most firmly implement the organization and modernization programs, the economic-financial norms, and the new system of prices.

Let us strengthen order, discipline, and the revolutionary spirit in our work.

The appropriate fulfillment of the plan for this year and for 1990 will ensure an increase in the general development level of our homeland and the transition to a new level and a new stage of our socialist society, which will create the necessary conditions to fulfill the Ninth 5-Year Plan and Romania's development prospects up to the year 2000. Thus, we will be able to conclude this

year's plan and the whole 5-year plan with the best results and we will give new impetus to the general development of our homeland. (Lively and loud applause)

Dear comrades; the documents adopted by the Central Committee plenum established the long-term guidelines for the development of Romanian society up to the year 2000 and in the future for the beginning of the 3d millenium.

Proceeding from the current stage, in the Ninth 5-Year Plan period and in the year 2000 we should ensure the continuous increase in the forces of production by putting the emphasis on intensive development in all areas, as an essential requirement for achieving the strategic objective of our party and people.

Although in many areas, in fact, the production that we have achieved is up to the level of the most developed countries, nevertheless, we should do all we can so that in the next 5-year plan and in the year 2000 we will continue to perfect and modernize our activity, thus ensuring the manufacture of products with a high technological and qualitative level and an optimal use of raw materials and of our people's production forces.

One can state that, proceeding from the development level in the years 1990 and 2000, we will be able to double industrial output, ensure a stable agricultural output of 40-45 million tonnes of grain, double our national income and, on this basis, raise the general level of civilization and the material and intellectual standard of living of our people.

All these things require more marked actions in developing scientific-technological research so that in this period, up to the end of the 2d millenium and the beginning of the 3d millenium, Romania will become a powerful force of technical-scientific progress, with a high level of scientific and technological development in all areas.

As a matter of fact, as I have mentioned more than once, this represents the law-like requirement to implement the party program, to successfully build the comprehensively developed society, and ensure Romania's advance toward communism.

Lagging behind in the field of scientific and technical research and of human knowledge means lagging behind in the construction of socialism and in the general development of the forces of production and of the whole society. However, our socialist society creates the best conditions to rapidly achieve a high level of scientific and technological research, to raise the general level of knowledge, and to ensure the molding of a nation with great revolutionary, scientific, and cultural awareness.



We have a powerful scientific force. We have registered important achievements in the field of scientific and technical research and we have long-term programs for all socioeconomic levels and for basic research.

Accordingly, we should work most resolutely to fulfill the programs for the organization and modernization of our activity on the basis of the latest scientific and technological discoveries, and to work like true revolutionaries in all areas.

At the same time, we must continue to perfect all levels of education and ensure the thorough professional, technical, and scientific training of all working people.

As of 1990, all young people will graduate from the second level of high school, and thus we will generally apply 12 years of education.

As early as the first years of the Ninth 5-Year Plan, young graduates from 12 years of education will start working in all sectors.

Thus, we are creating the necessary conditions to raise the general professional, technical, scientific, and cultural level of all working people and of our whole nation.

We should base the whole of education on the latest discoveries in science, technology, and human knowledge, and on the revolutionary concept of the world and life—dialectical and historical materialism.

We must continue to pay particular attention to firmly implementing the party and state policy on protecting and preserving our environment. We must especially ensure the strict implementation of the national programs for combating soil erosion, for afforestation, combating pollution, and for preserving clear waters and a clean environment in general.

Proceeding from the principles of self-management and self-financing based on self-management, we must ensure the firm application of socioeconomic norms and of the principles of price setting and of constantly increasing economic profitability in all areas.

I do not want to discuss the development of various branches and sectors of activity; they are appropriately dealt with in the Program-Directive and ensure the balanced development of the national economy, based on both the development of industry and agriculture as a basic branch; the other sectors are also appropriately dealt with, thus providing long-term prospects for our homeland's elevation to a high level of development and to new heights of progress and civilization.

Within the discussions in enterprises, central departments, research institutes, state and cooperative agricultural units, and all sectors, it is necessary that new measures should be examined and worked out, and new

proposals should be made on perfecting and unflinchingly fulfilling the targets for our homeland's future development under the best of conditions. Let us see to it that the discussions that will take place within the party and with the entire nation ensure that the document to be submitted to and adopted by the congress represents the unanimous thought and will of our nation and its determination to unflinchingly implement the program for building socialism and communism in Romania! (Loud, prolonged cheers, applause; long chants of "Ceausescu - RCP!" and "Ceausescu, Romania, our esteem and pride!")

Esteemed comrades: The vigorous development of our country's economy has created the necessary conditions for its active participation in the international division of labor and in the exchange of material and cultural assets with other states in the world, irrespective of social system. Romania's economic exchanges and production sharing with other states have increased more than 45-fold compared with 1950.

An important place is held by the economic exchange and cooperation with the socialist countries, which makes up some 50 percent of the volume of our foreign trade.

Economic relations with the developing countries have constantly increased, and today they amount to some 25 percent.

Relations with the developed capitalist countries, which also make up 25 percent of Romania's foreign trade, have also developed.

Bearing in mind the current level of international exchanges and our homeland's socioeconomic development program, we plan to expand economic exchanges and production sharing with all states, irrespective of social system.

The entire party, all our people, and all cadres in the economy must very clearly understand that the development of economic exchanges and the expansion of production sharing is an objective requirement.

Therefore, we must work with greater determination to develop economic cooperation and to participate much more actively, on the basis of production sharing, in developing economic relations by paying particular attention to production sharing with the developing countries. As the directives emphasize, by the year 2000 foreign trade activity has to develop more vigorously, while exports have to make up at least 30 percent of the total commodity production.

I believe I should emphasize the important role that is played and is being played by CEMA in developing cooperation and collaboration among its socialist member countries, and also the need for more active cooperation between all socialist countries.

Extensive discussions are currently under way within CEMA on questions pertaining to perfecting economic activity.

Some economists would like us to renounce CEMA's principles and recommend that we take the Common Market and the principles of the Common Market as a basis. It is obvious that such recommendations are completely at variance with socialism and CEMA.

In our view, the current framework and basic principles of CEMA constitute a proper base and should make up the framework for developing our future cooperation.

However, this presupposes that we have to unflinchingly implement the provisions of the CEMA Statute on the need to ensure a relative equalization of the levels of development of its member countries. In perfecting the forms and relations of cooperation and production specialization and sharing, one has to proceed from the need to develop each national economy—a relatively equal development—and from the need to ensure the best possible economic, technical, and scientific independence for its member countries.

Without isolating itself, when developing cooperation with the Common Market and with other regional bodies, CEMA should preserve its independence and play a much more active role in ensuring the socioeconomic progress of its member countries.

Generally speaking, we believe that during the current stage of development and for many years to come the preservation of the socioeconomic independence of the CEMA countries and of other states is a vital requirement, and that any deviation from this would entail negative effects.

In this spirit, Romania is determined to actively participate in CEMA, in implementing the programs jointly adopted up to the year 2000; it is also determined to develop—within both CEMA and on a bilateral level—relations with various other economic bodies, and to achieve broad cooperation and collaboration. I repeat, with all states in the world, irrespective of social system.

Bearing in mind the current difficult economic problems, the serious world economic crisis, and the considerable deterioration in the situation of the developing countries, it is necessary to eliminate outdated practices of inequality and their oppression, and to establish new principles of relations that will permit each nation's socioeconomic development and independence, and ensure world economic stability and each people's progress.

This requires a radical improvement in the international financial system and a complete renunciation of making economic relations dependent on political or other considerations.

It is necessary for all states, and especially for international economic bodies and world banks to renounce the practice of granting credits only if they will be used for private capitalist property. On the contrary, it would be normal for international banks to grant credits particularly for socioeconomic development on the basis of state and cooperative ownership, which ensures the people's genuine socioeconomic independence and represents the future.

Romania, together with other states, is ready to actively participate in the joint formulation of measures to deal with major economic issues, the foreign debts of the developing countries, and in formulating new principles for international economic relations.

These are an objective requirement for socioeconomic progress, for overcoming the world socioeconomic crisis, and for achieving a better and more just world in which each nation is able to develop freely and independently, in accordance with its aspirations and without any outside interference! (Loud, prolonged applause)

Esteemed comrades: The documents adopted by the Central Committee plenum vigorously emphasize the justice of the social policy of constantly improving our people's material and cultural standard of living—the supreme goal of our Communist Party's policy and the essence of the comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania.

Everything we have achieved and everything we propose to achieve is designated for our homeland's development in general and to constantly improve our people's well-being, proceeding from the fact that everything that is being achieved belongs to the people and must ensure the well-being and happiness of each citizen and of the entire nation.

We must also emphatically stress that improving the individual standard of living, the well-being of each citizen, and that of our homeland can be achieved only along with the development of the forces of production and with our homeland's level of development, and along with the well-being of our whole people and entire nation.

The great achievements in the area of the material and cultural standard of living are known—the increased number of dwellings, better medical care, education, and culture. Everything we achieve ensures an ever better material and cultural standard of living, in close accordance with our country's development level in general.

Proceeding from the prospect of our homeland's progress in general, necessary conditions will be created to ensure that the problems of our people's material and cultural standard of living will be solved under favorable conditions.

Beginning with 1995, we will solve the problem of housing in cities. Working and living conditions in villages will improve a great deal.

Throughout our activity, we will start from the need to ensure work and educational conditions for all our homeland's citizens in order that all young people will have a workplace guaranteed to enable them to participate in the activity of our homeland's socioeconomic development, in accordance with the ability and capability of each of them.

We will perfect the wage system on the basis of the overall contract system by starting from the principle of "equal work, equal pay," and by firmly applying the principle of "neither work without bread, nor bread without work!"

We must constantly perfect our wage system on the basis of socialist equity and ethics, so that the incomes of all categories of working people are closely linked to the work performed. No one in our country should be able to achieve incomes without working or by exploiting the work of other people!

In ensuring an equitable ratio between high and low incomes, which will amount to a 1 to 4.5 ratio by the year 2000, we must bear in mind that the minimum wage ceiling will ensure an appropriate and dignified standard of living for all members of our society.

When setting the minimum wage ceiling, we must bear in mind that each working man should be able to live a dignified and civilized life, in accordance with scientifically set requirements. Likewise, this also applies to low pensions.

We have to pay greater attention to meeting some general requirements by means of social funds, which is a very important factor for ensuring a dignified standard of living for our entire nation.

Socialism must guarantee all citizens, without discrimination, equal conditions for work, life, and the affirmation of the human personality!

By no means should we tolerate any form of profiteering or inequalities in the name of a so-called "market-oriented socialism." We have to work so that no one in our country will think he can live without work. All the citizens of Socialist Romania must be aware that work is a duty and a great honor. Actually, man himself is a creation of work and only a man who performs useful work can be truly free. Let us vigorously develop the feeling of duty toward the homeland, work, and the free and happy future of our people! (Loud, lively applause)

Esteemed comrades: Proceeding from the basic principles of socioeconomic management and planning, and from the current stage of the activity of our state and

workers revolutionary-democratic bodies, it is necessary to constantly perfect and develop the democratic forms of the people's participation in the management of all sectors of activity.

Starting from the scientific thesis of socialist construction with the people and for the people, we have broadly developed workers revolutionary democracy, thus achieving a unique democratic framework.

In this activity, we moved and must move from the fact that organizational and management forms must constantly be perfected in accordance with the development of the forces of production and social relations, and with the modern achievements of science and of human knowledge in general.

At the same time, we must constantly bear in mind that perfecting and improving the management and planning activity must ensure the uniform leadership of the whole activity of building the socialist society on the basis of the uniform national development plan.

Increasing the responsibility of the various state bodies, of central departments, enterprises, and of self-management should not lead to a weakened leadership—on the basis of the uniform plan—in running the homeland, but to the enhanced responsibility of each unit and each body in the proper management of the socialist ownership, in constantly applying our laws, and in implementing our homeland's socioeconomic development programs.

The broad democratic bodies that we have created in the past 20 years—the working people's councils; the general meetings, as higher bodies of owners and producers which ensure the management of the entire socioeconomic activity; county bodies; working people's congresses; agricultural, scientific, educational, and cultural bodies; as well as the national councils in charge of management between congresses—represent new forms in which the workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and other social categories participate in an organized way in the management of our society, in drafting and implementing the domestic and foreign policy of our homeland.

The correct blending of the activity of state bodies with the activity of the democratic bodies of the people's masses should ensure a new democracy which is greatly superior to any form of bourgeois democracy. In the future we must also perfect the management and planning bodies and democratic bodies, starting from the fact that under no circumstances can society give up its development on the basis of clear, socialist principles of ownership, work, and remuneration. The more we expand the general level of development of the forces of production, science, culture, and of the other sectors, the greater the need for democratic bodies in charge of a uniform management of the whole socioeconomic activity.

In this spirit, we must work with utmost determination to perfect, improve, and increase the responsibility of managing the whole activity on the basis of the laws of the country, in order to strengthen order and discipline in all fields of activity!

We should constantly bear in mind the continuous increasing of the role of the workers class and of the working people in general in the management of all sectors of activity. Only on this basis will the revolutionary workers democracy develop, enabling us to implement the principle of building socialism with the people and for the people!

Let us ensure that the activity of each state and democratic body develops in the spirit of revolutionary principles and workers democracy, and that we always work to perfect the whole activity, eliminate everything that is old and no longer suitable, and boldly promote everything that is new in all areas! Only in this way will we work like true revolutionaries and ensure the fulfillment of the objectives for successfully building socialism in our country!

Within the activity of the state bodies we will continue to devote great attention to raising the combat and political level of our Armed Forces, who must always be ready to defend the independence and sovereignty of our country and the revolutionary and socialist achievements of our whole nation.

In strengthening the capability to defend the country, we have always proceeded and continue to proceed from the fact that our Army should closely cooperate with the patriotic guards and the young people's military training units, because the defense of the homeland and of the revolutionary achievements is the cause of our whole nation, and only together and in close cooperation with the people will the Army always be able to fulfill its duties toward the people and toward the cause of socialism and Romania's independence and sovereignty! (Lively and loud applause)

At the same time, we believe that we should reduce the level of arming and of military expenditure to the minimum, as we have constantly done in the past 20 years.

As far as Romania's adherence to the Warsaw Pact and the strengthening of cooperation with the armies of the countries that belong to this pact are concerned, we will continue to work to perfect and develop this cooperation and, at the same time, we will work for the simultaneous dismantling of both the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

Nevertheless, under all circumstances the cooperation with the armies of socialist countries and with other friendly armies will continue to be a factor of major importance in our policy of defending national independence.

Likewise, we should improve the activity of the Militia and the Security Forces to defend our revolutionary achievements, the civic wealth, and individual wealth, and to defend tranquility and the work of our whole nation.

In accordance with the laws of our country, we should more markedly improve cooperation among these bodies and the broad masses of people, among the entire nation, and we should take a firm stand against any violation of the law and of tranquility and general order.

The judicial bodies and the prosecutor's office should most firmly guard the application of the law and of social legality, so that under no circumstances should anybody be punished unjustly but, at the same time, nobody should go unpunished after violating the laws of the country.

In this respect, we should more markedly expand the role of trial commissions and working people's general meetings, so that these democratic legal bodies can play the decisive role in judging cases of violation of order and discipline norms and other norms of social coexistence. Only when these bodies consider that the acts committed are serious enough that they must be sent to the legal bodies or in the case of exceptionally serious acts that belong in a court of justice from the very beginning should a case be tried by a court of justice. Even in case of very serious problems of counterrevolutionary activity, of siding with the enemies of socialism and the country, high treason—which fall under the direct competence of the prosecutor's office and of the legal bodies—they also have to be made known to and discussed within the general meetings.

I am referring to all these things because life has proved that there have always been and, unfortunately, there still are people—it is true, not many—who betray socialism and the people for some personal profit, for some gold or silver coins, as our people would say. We must adopt a firm stand of exposing and punishing such people and such acts of treason in accordance with the laws of our country.

Our people themselves should inflict punishment on all those who jeopardize socialism and the independence and sovereignty of our country, the future of our nation! (Loud, prolonged applause)

We must strive to make the defense of the revolutionary achievements, the civic property, and the laws and norms of socialist ethics and equity the concern of all the working people, of our whole nation—the true master of the whole country—and of all those who, through their activity and their bodies, should ensure our free future, should ensure life, tranquility, and the victory of socialism and communism in Romania. (Loud, prolonged applause. Prolonged chants of "Ceausescu—RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the people!")



Esteemed comrades: The great achievements that our people obtained in building socialism tellingly prove the correctness of the general line of our party to creatively apply the objective laws and socialist principles to the realities in our country.

We can state with good reason that our party has honorably fulfilled and continues to fulfill its historic mission of revolutionary detachment, of being the central core of our whole nation and it has led and continues to lead our people on the path of socialism and communism.

The leading political role of our party is the result of the revolutionary activity of our party, which, since its establishment and up to the present, in various difficult periods in the history of our people, has adopted a principled, revolutionary position of defending the masses of people and the independence and sovereignty of our country.

Since the creation of the first workers party in Romania in 1893, of the Romanian Communist Party in 1921 and up to the present, there have never been important internal or international events in which the party did not adopt a clear and firm attitude in complete accordance with the aspirations of our people and with the cause of socialism and of Romania's independence and sovereignty. Therefore our people acknowledges the party as a leading political force! (Prolonged, loud cheers and applause. Prolonged chants of "Ceausescu—RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the people!")

We have a strong party, which includes more than 3.8 million members, of which more than 55 percent come from the ranks of the workers class.

In all fields of activity the party works to continuously strengthen the ties with the masses of working people, to ensure the most appropriate implementation of the party decisions and of the laws of the country.

As far as the party activity after the ninth congress is concerned, we adopted measures to perfect the party activity, its organizations and bodies and to develop the inner party democracy—as part and parcel of the workers revolutionary democracy and as a strong manifestation of the critical and self-critical spirit, as a vital requirement to commendably fulfill the leading role of the party in all areas of activity.

Starting from this reality, we are puzzled and even concerned by tendencies in some countries to weaken the party's leading role and by certain concepts of reverting to the so-called multiparty system. It is well known that parties developed in conditions when society was divided up in antagonistic classes, divided into oppressors and oppressed. Therefore, it is only logical that once

the exploiters' class was abolished the political organizational unity of the workers class should be achieved in a single revolutionary party, which should lead the vast and complex work of building the new social system.

As I have already mentioned, this also requires the creation of a broad democratic framework for the organized participation of the people and of all social categories in the work of managing all sectors of activity.

The idea of returning to the period when several parties existed is very dangerous and it can entail serious prejudices to the cause of socialism and of the general development of the respective peoples.

As far as we are concerned, we believe that among socialist countries and the countries that turn to independent socioeconomic development, we should firmly advocate the existence of single powerful parties, with a revolutionary or progressive concept, which can ensure every people's concerted actions in the accomplishment of the targets of socialist construction and of independent socioeconomic development.

We must permanently maintain the party's worker nature, both as regards the proportion of workers in the party and the promotion of activists from the ranks of workers to the leadership of the party bodies and organizations. (Lively and loud applause)

I can most forcefully state that if we do not ensure the party's worker nature, by permanently promoting the party cadres up to the Central Committee and the Political Executive Committee, from among the workers, we will not be able to ensure—or it will not be possible to ensure—the maintenance of the party's revolutionary character. The presence of the majority of workers in the party and in the managerial bodies is the sure guarantee of the revolutionary spirit and of the firm progress toward socialism and communism! (Loud cheers and applause. Prolonged chants of "Ceausescu—RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the people!")

It is no accident that precisely in these circumstances some reactionary circles in capitalist countries have intensified their attacks primarily against communist parties. As a matter of fact, it is not the first time that such a thing has happened. Under the slogan of creating several parties they work to weaken and eliminate communist parties. As a matter of fact, they do not even conceal it and it has become very clear from the antisocialist, anticommunist, and anti-Soviet manifestations in some countries.

It is worth remembering the slogan at the time of the Great October Socialist Revolution "Soviets without Bolsheviks," which today is taken up in a different form against communist parties, and against the leading role of the party.

There is not and cannot be an improvement or development of socialism without a single party of the workers class, with a revolutionary concept of the world and life, which firmly works to unite the whole nation in the safeguarding of the achievements of socialism, developing socialism, strengthening our country's independence and sovereignty, and in striving for peace and cooperation among all the nations of the world. (Prolonged, loud applause)

Taking into consideration the great objectives for our homeland's socialist development, we should continuously perfect the activity of the party and continuously strengthen its leading role in all areas, we should most firmly work to raise the political and ideological level and to improve the combat and revolutionary spirit in order to perfect the party democracy and continuously strengthen the ties of the party with the workers class, with the broad masses of people, and with the whole nation.

We should see to it that all party and state decisions and everything that concerns the homeland's development should be broadly discussed and adopted by the whole party and our whole nation.

Working as the leading political force and as a vital core of our whole nation, our party should permanently remain a revolutionary party and should always follow the concepts of scientific socialism and firmly militate to ensure full accordance between forces of production and relations of production and social relations, thus finding conscious solutions to the contradictions that might arise at a certain moment and ensure the unflinching implementation of socialism and communism in Romania.

It is not possible and there cannot be another force that could fulfill the vital role of the Communist Party! The party cannot give up its role as a leading political force and cannot share this role with anybody. It must fulfill its role to lead the people toward the high peaks of the communist society, together with the people and doing everything for the people!

If we can say it in this way, the party should share its role only with one single force, that is the people and only the people, in terms of improving the general level of the people's awareness and their militant spirit and in uniting the whole nation around itself in order to build socialism and communism! As a matter of fact, this should be the dialectical understanding of the fact that in communism, the party will disappear when all the people reach a high revolutionary awareness and a high revolutionary combat spirit, when people themselves become revolutionary people, builders of communism, freedom, and of their free future! (Prolonged applause, cheers; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu and the people!" and "Ceausescu Romania, our esteem and pride!")

Esteemed comrades, mass and civic bodies play an important role in the system of the workers revolutionary democracy. We should continuously improve the activity of trade unions, which include working people from all sectors of activity. As the largest mass organization, the trade unions should adopt in their whole activity a revolutionary position of active participation in the work of building socialism and communism and ensuring the socioeconomic development of our homeland, permanently defending the working people's problems and ensuring that all problems that occur in their work and life are adequately resolved. Trade unions should represent a strong revolutionary force in the active and organized participation of the working people in the management of all sectors of activity and in the actions of improving the workers' control.

We should improve the role of women's councils and commissions, which play a significant role in increasing the participation of women in the whole of social and political life. As a matter of fact, women are present in all party activity, in the state bodies, and in all mass and civic organizations. In the future, we should pay greater attention to promoting an increasingly greater number of women in various managerial jobs.

The Union of Communist Youth and the Associations of Communist Students, which unite among their ranks the entirety of youth, should play an important role and should represent an active and revolutionary force of molding and educating young people and ensuring their active participation in the work of implementing the party policy in all areas and of thoroughly training young people in a revolutionary and communist spirit, who, under all circumstances should unswervingly follow the policy of our Communist Party in all fields of activity and should work as revolutionaries, with complete responsibility for the cause of socialism, communism, and the cause of our whole nation.

Likewise, it is necessary to improve the activity of young pioneers and falcons of the homeland, who, together with the school, under the leadership of our party, play an important role in molding the children of our homeland in the spirit of communist ideals and of love for the homeland and for the people.

Likewise, we should increase the role of cooperative organizations, of the artists' unions, and of the scores of mass and civic organizations, which represent a broad democratic framework for the entire activity of managing the work of building the socialist society.

The Socialist Democracy and Unity Organization also plays an important role in our society and it includes among its ranks more than 4 million working people who are not members of the Communist Party, but who, closely united under the leadership of our party, are

determined to unswervingly work to fulfill the party programs and the plans for our socioeconomic development and for raising our country to new peaks of progress and civilization.

Likewise, we should stress the important role of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, a broad democratic body which unites all social categories and all our people in a complete unity, under the leadership of our Communist Party, a body which expresses in a wonderful way the broad democratic nature of our socialist society, of its bodies, and, at the same time, works in complete unity while acknowledging the leading role of our Communist Party in fulfilling the program for building the comprehensively developed socialist society, ensuring Romania's advance toward communism, continuously raising the material and intellectual well-being of our whole nation, and strengthening Romania's independence and sovereignty! Achieving and continuously developing the unity of the whole nation within the framework of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front represents an objective requirement for the progress of our homeland and for the future of our people! (Loud, prolonged applause)

Esteemed comrades: The ideological and political-educational activity of shaping the new-type of man, the conscious builder of the new social system, has always played an important role in the whole activity of building socialism.

We have recorded important results and we should forcefully state that without an intensive and sustained political-educational activity in all areas, we could not have obtained these great achievements.

As I have mentioned in my speech to the democratic forum in November last year, certain lags have been noticed in the ideological and political activity compared with the general development of our country's forces of production in all areas.

Therefore, we should work with utmost determination to eliminate these lags and to raise the ideological level of the party and the revolutionary awareness of the party and of our whole nations to the level of the general socioeconomic development of our homeland.

Let us ensure that the political-educational activity plays a more active role in forming the revolutionary concept and becomes a strong force which brightens up the road toward the high peaks of the communist society.

The more we improve the ideological and political-educational activity of shaping the socialist and revolutionary awareness of our whole nation, the better our results will be in all fields of activity.

We are living in a time of profound changes and of elan in the development of science, culture, and human knowledge, when people are faced with many questions

and problems regarding the way of viewing various events or solving the complex socioeconomic situation of our times and the future of mankind at the beginning of the 3d millenium.

That is why the ideological activity and the activity of social sciences should forcefully concentrate on discussing all these problems from the revolutionary positions of dialectical and historical materialism.

That is why we should firmly fight the theses of deideologizing international relations, of slackening the class struggle, and the antiscientific and antirevolutionary theses which bring about confusion and lack of confidence in the force of the workers class, in the struggle of peoples for progress and international cooperation, and in the inevitable victory of socialism.

The ideological and political-educational activity should give a clear idea about the changes and the development prospects of the human society and about development prospects of developing socialism and communism, which sooner or later will triumph all over the world. (Loud, prolonged applause)

Now, more than ever, we should most forcefully emphasize that the victory of socialism is an objective requirement, that sooner or later—as it has happened with all the other social systems—the capitalist, imperialist order will make room for a new, more just and better system—socialism and communism.

We should vigorously emphasize the lessons of history, which prove that the transition from one system to another has always been carried out in a revolutionary way and that the decisive role in this transition has always been played by the masses and the people—the true forgers of history and civilization—and, within this framework, we should stress the role of the workers class and of all advanced forces in the struggle for socialism, peace, and cooperation throughout the world! (Loud applause)

The ideological and political-educational activity should emphatically stress the role of revolutionary and workers parties and of communist parties in organizing and leading the workers class and the broad masses of people toward establishing the new socialist social order.

Precisely under the present circumstances, when we witness a new offensive of the most reactionary imperialist circles, the communist parties and progressive movements should most forcefully and decisively act against all attempts to divide and weaken the workers class, the struggle of people for socialism, socioeconomic progress, and peace.

All the mass media and means of education should resolutely work, in a spirit of revolutionary militancy and intransigence, against retrograde concepts, mysticism, chauvinism, anti-Semitism, and against all actions of dividing people and sowing hatred among them.

Let us educate all our people, and primarily the young ones, in the spirit of revolutionary patriotism, of the lofty ideals of national and social justice, and the socialist and communist principles!

Let us educate the people's masses, primarily youth, in the spirit of revolutionary patriotism, in the spirit of revolutionary militancy against everything that is at variance with the interests of socialism and communism, and against everything that weakens revolutionary militancy in all areas.

Let us educate our entire people and youth in the spirit of the wonderful patriotic and revolutionary traditions and let us develop the feelings of friendship, brotherhood, and unity of all working people, and base all our cultural activity on the wonderful traditions of our great achievements and of Romanian creativity in all areas!

Let us reject any kowtowing to what humiliates man and to all foreign ideas!

Let us educate young people and our people in the spirit of international solidarity, friendship, and the joint struggle for socioeconomic progress, and the joint struggle for peace and cooperation among all world nations!

An important role is played in this respect by the "Song to Romania" national festival, which has turned into a great potential of broad popular creativity.

Let us improve the masses' cultural standard to a greater extent and enhance their participation in the development and prosperity of Romanian culture!

The literary, artistic, and musical creativity union must improve its activity by creating new works which will depict, in the specific form of the given art, the excellent achievements of our people, the heroic work of the builders of socialism and our revolutionary traditions, and which will follow the example of our forebears, who served the people under the most difficult conditions and viewed the ensurance of the development of the Romanian language and culture, and the development of our people and nation as one of their supreme duties!

In close connection with world culture, Romanian literature and art must be present not by copying or kowtowing, but by depicting its own works and characteristics representing the nature of the Romanian people, conscious builder of socialism, the most advanced culture, and genuine humanism. (Lively, loud applause)

Radio, television, press, and all mass information media must adopt a more combative position, must publish or present on the radio or television the work and activity of our people; they must adopt a critical position toward various negative situations, thus contributing actively to giving general application to the progressive experience and knowledge in all areas, and to disseminating the most advanced ideas on work and life, and the socialist principles in all areas! (Loud, prolonged applause)

Let us see to it that all our political-educational activities better fulfill their great mission in implementing our long-term goals of raising our homeland to new heights of progress and civilization!

The entire ideological and educational activity must actively contribute to improving the standard of science and culture in general and to molding people with a high scientific, cultural, and revolutionary knowledge, and people armed with everything that is new in the development of science and culture, who will contribute, through their activity, to enriching the national and world heritage in all areas! Only then will we be able to say that the political-educational activity has honorably fulfilled its mission—and I am convinced that we will achieve important successes in this area!

Establishing the goals aimed at our homeland's socioeconomic development, we must work with great revolutionary responsibility to perfect all activities and to unite all our people in the struggle and work of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's firm advance toward communism! (Loud, prolonged applause, cheers; long chants of "Ceausescu—heroism, Romania—communism!")

Esteemed comrades: Giving priority to the activity of fulfilling the plans and programs for our country's socioeconomic development and the successful construction of socialism, our party and Socialist Romania have also promoted an active policy of cooperation with all states in the world, irrespective of social system, by participating with all their efforts in solving the major international problems and in the struggle for disarmament and peace.

One can say that in the wake of the Ninth RCP Congress, Socialist Romania always made an active contribution to solving the most important problems in the interest of detente, disarmament, peace, and cooperation among all world nations.

Profound political, social, economic, and military changes have taken place in the international arena, which constantly modify the world balance of forces. Life and reality demonstrate that a relative balance has been achieved and is being maintained in the balance of forces and thus a number of difficult moments could be overcome and for almost 45 years peace could be safeguarded.



It has to be emphasized that the policy promoted by the socialist countries has played an important role throughout this period in safeguarding peace and solving some difficult problems through negotiations.

As is known, in the past years important steps have been taken through the achievement of the accord between the Soviet Union and the United States of America on the elimination of intermediate-range nuclear missiles through the initiation of disarmament negotiations in Vienna and the transition to solving certain conflicts in various parts of the world by negotiations.

Despite all this, we must frankly say before our people and all peoples in the world that the international situation continues to be very complex and serious.

The existence of nuclear weapons, of other arms of mass destruction, and of conventional weapons poses a great threat to the peace of mankind and, were nuclear weapons used, to the very life on our planet.

The NATO countries have not yet arrived at the necessary understanding to renounce the outdated policy of "nuclear deterrence."

They declare that they will modernize tactical and short-range nuclear missiles; this would considerably increase the destructive potential of these weapons and threaten the very life of the European peoples and of peoples all over the world.

Under these circumstances, the fundamental problem of the international situation is, first and foremost, the problem of renouncing nuclear weapons and their modernization program, and of achieving new agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States on a 50-percent cut in strategic nuclear missiles, and a general accord on completely eliminating any kind of nuclear weapons.

It is necessary for all states to immediately renounce nuclear testing, the activity of militarizing outer space, and it is necessary to achieve an appropriate accord on the elimination of chemical weapons closely linked to the elimination of all nuclear weapons.

Romania participates, together with the other Warsaw Pact countries, the NATO countries, and the European countries in the Vienna negotiations on radically reducing conventional weapons under strict international control, and is determined to contribute to the conclusion of an agreement as soon as possible.

We firmly advocate a reduction of at least 50 percent of these weapons in order to achieve an appropriate balance between the two military blocs ruling out a possible military aggression.

We firmly advocate a reduction in military expenditure—in the first stage by at least 50 percent by using the funds made available in this way for solving various socioeconomic problems in each country and for aiding the developing countries.

With great determination we want to reaffirm Socialist Romania's and the Romanian people's resolution to participate actively in achieving disarmament and in ensuring new international relations that will rule out the use and threat of force.

At the same time, one cannot help noticing that in many European countries, including the United States, the activity of neofascist and rightist organizations is intensifying as are anti-Semitic, nationalist-chauvinistic propaganda, and ideas on the revision of borders.

The results of the elections of the European Parliament, in which rightist neofascist parties achieved important results, justifiably give rise to concern in the ranks of all peoples in Europe. Therefore, it is necessary to firmly rebuff neofascism and all reactionary, neofascist, and rightist manifestations!

In this area, too, we must not forget the historic conclusions drawn prior to World War II when the toleration and even encouragement of certain fascist organizations led to the establishment of fascism in Hitlerite Germany and other countries in the world, to World War II, and caused great losses and destruction for all European nations and for many peoples in the world.

To reject fascism means to defend democracy, freedom, and the right of peoples to a dignified life and to peace! (Loud, lively applause)

Our country will always work with great determination to achieve cooperation and disarmament in Europe and new relations of full equality that will ensure the economic and social progress of each people and will lead to strengthening cooperation, unity, and the security of all nations in Europe.

It is necessary for us to do all we can to overcome the various obstacles and to achieve a united Europe of free and independent peoples.

Only on this basis will Europe be able to ensure socioeconomic progress and play a more important role in solving the major problems of today!

Romania will always carry out intensive activity—as it has done so far—to develop broad cooperation among the Balkan countries in order to achieve a zone without nuclear and chemical weapons and without foreign military bases in this region as part and parcel of cooperation and security in Europe and throughout the world.

Romania will firmly advocate—as it has so far—the cessation of conflicts in various parts of the world and the solution of disputes by negotiations alone.

Within this framework, we believe that it is necessary to organize an international conference on the Middle East and to solve problems on the basis of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, the existence of an independent Palestinian state, and the recognition of the independence, sovereignty, and integrity of all states in that area, including Israel.

We believe that it is necessary to ensure the active participation of all states, irrespective of size or social system, in the solution of all world problems.

Within this framework, I want to emphasize the important role played by small and medium-size countries, by the developing countries, and by the nonaligned countries.

We also advocate an enhanced role of the United Nations and of other international organizations in democratically solving the complex problems in the international arena in the interest of all peoples, of peace, and cooperation.

We should not forget what history has taught us in connection with World War II, the 50th anniversary of which will be marked soon.

It is well-known that the policy of conciliation and capitulation toward Nazi Germany and the Munich accord, including the Molotov-Ribentrop pact, did not stop aggression, but encouraged it. These lessons compel us to intensify the peoples' struggle against war and for general disarmament, primarily for eliminating nuclear weapons. We must constantly bear in mind that war cannot be prevented except through the united struggle of the progressive forces and peoples everywhere, and that the problems of disarmament cannot be solved solely by a few countries; they must be solved with the participation of all peoples, all states, and with the participation of the broad people's masses. Only in this way will we prevent a new war and ensure peace on earth! (Loud, prolonged applause)

The Socialist Republic of Romania is determined to work in the future, too, to broadly develop relations with all states, irrespective of social system. In our international relations we will firmly promote the principles of equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage, and unflinching respect for each nation's right to choose its socioeconomic development path freely and without any outside interference.

The time has come to understand the need to renounce the outdated policy of interference—in various forms—in the domestic affairs of various countries, and the policy of subversion and diversion. Those circles and

politicians in the West, who assume the right to establish what is good and bad for one or another country, should realize that there are many, very many problems to be solved in their own countries, in the capitalist countries, that in the past 10 years unemployment has become a chronic situation, that 20-30 percent of young people have no secure job, and that discrimination still exists in differentiated pay—up to 20-30 percent—for women, young people, and working people of a different color, especially blacks.

The number of the poor and of people who have no housing has increased.

All this has increased the number of people—especially young ones—who are addicted to drugs; it has led to increased criminality, acts of terrorism, and other serious social phenomena.

Therefore, it would be necessary for those circles and politicians to focus their efforts rather on solving these serious problems, which grossly violate the right of people to work, to life, and which are at variance with the principles of genuine humanism, and with genuine human rights!

We believe that it would be particularly useful and important to achieve active and broad cooperation in solving these serious problems by proceeding from the fact that the states' primary duty is to ensure work for all their citizens, especially for young people, as well as housing, education, and all the other basic rights for a dignified and free life of peoples.

Esteemed comrades: Working to develop relations with all countries, irrespective of social system, we will continue to pay particular attention to relations with the socialist countries, and primarily with our neighbors.

We have always believed and believe that the solution of domestic problems and socialist development constitute the supreme duty of the communist parties and of the peoples in each country. However, it goes without saying that we are concerned about certain problems in various countries, because we want all socialist countries and all our neighbors to ensure firm development on the path of socialism. Therefore, we believe it is very important for the socialist countries belonging to the Warsaw Pact and socialist countries in general to jointly examine current problems of socialist construction, and to jointly establish how to better cooperate to overcome certain difficulties and ensure each country's socioeconomic development on the path of socialism.

Similarly, we want to develop broad relations with the other socialist countries and believe that this cooperation has to be expanded in the spirit of solidarity and active cooperation to ensure the socialist development of our countries.

Esteemed comrades: The revolutionary workers movement in Romania, the first party of the workers class, and the Romanian Communist Party broadly developed the activity of international solidarity with the revolutionary workers parties and movements everywhere. The Romanian revolutionaries belonged to the Communist International created by Marx and Engels, they were present on the barricades of the Paris Commune, and participated actively in the II and III International. Romanian revolutionary detachments participated actively in the Great October Socialist Revolution and were among the ranks of the international brigades struggling against fascism in Spain, and, during the war, in France and other countries. We have actively supported the struggle for eliminating colonialism and have granted fraternal help to numerous peoples, especially in Africa, to gain national independence.

In the spirit of these excellent traditions of international solidarity we have developed and continue to develop broad relations with the communist and workers parties, with the socialist and social-democratic parties, with the progressive parties and movements in the developing countries, and with other democratic parties in various countries.

We believe that the serious and complex world situation, the changes taking place in the world balance of forces require—as an objective necessity—that international cooperation and solidarity be strengthened to an even greater extent. No communist and no revolutionary, progressive party should isolate itself! It is more than ever necessary to strengthen cooperation and solidarity among the communist parties on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism and the revolutionary concept on the world and life, and on the basis of the principles of dialectical and historic materialism.

We view the problems in various countries, including the socialist countries, as the domestic problems of each party and we are against any interference in domestic affairs. However, at the same time, we favor broad cooperation and the joint discussion of current problems in order to establish what should be done by each party to contribute to the achievement of disarmament, to solving the complex political, social, and economic problems, and to ensuring a world of social and national justice and the victory of the new social system—socialism.

In the spirit of responsibility toward our own people the cause of socialism, and toward the prospects of mankind's development, we believe that it is necessary for the communist and workers parties to strengthen their solidarity, to organize regional or international meetings and conferences in order to strengthen cooperation and solidarity. The workers class and future generations will find no excuse for those who do not understand that precisely in the current circumstances we have to do all

we can to achieve a new unity on the basis of equality and independence, and to broadly develop solidarity and international cooperation. (Loud, prolonged applause)

This will be a new-type unity of independent parties with equal rights, and it will be a strong unity that will unite the workers class and the progressive forces in the struggle for socioeconomic progress, for disarmament, peace, and for saving humanity from destruction!

In the same spirit, we advocate the broad development of cooperation with the socialist, social democratic parties, with the progressive anti-imperialist movements, and with the democratic forces everywhere in order to take common action on the basic problems concerning each people, peace, the independence of each nation, and the future of the whole of mankind.

We are firmly convinced that, although current problems are quite serious and complex, by working together, the progressive forces, peoples everywhere, and realistic circles will be able to find ways and means for active cooperation, to change the trend of events, and to impose a new political thinking and a new way-of action in the interest of progress, and in the interest of the well-being and independence of each people, of peace and cooperation among all nations in the world. (Loud applause)

As far as Socialist Romania is concerned, in unflinchingly implementing the RCP policy in the international area, it will participate with all its efforts, as it has done so far, to contribute to the solution of all problems and to ensuring new relations based on the principles of equality among all nations in order to build a better and more just world, without weapons, without wars, a world in which each people and each nation will live a dignified, free, and independent life! (Loud, prolonged applause)

Esteemed comrades: The Central Committee plenum decision on convening the 14th RCP Congress and the unanimous adoption of the Program-Directive, the Theses, and the other documents are of particular importance for the present and future of our homeland, for the unflinching implementation of the party program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism—the golden dream of mankind. (Loud, prolonged applause)

This is why we can already say that the 14th RCP Congress can be viewed as the congress of the great socialist victories, of the devoted work of our entire people, and of our genuine and complete independence and sovereignty, and it can be viewed as the congress that opens up excellent prospects toward the high pinnacles of the society without classes and the pinnacles of communism! (Loud prolonged applause)

At this point we have to move to thoroughly organizing the general meetings of the basic organizations and of the party conferences in the spirit of the democratic principles of the party laid down in its Statute and in other Central Committee decisions.

We have to pay special attention to electing the best activists from among the ranks of the party members to the leadership of the basic organizations and the party committees—I want to repeat, special attention to the activists among the ranks of the workers class—who have to ensure the unflinching implementation of the decisions that will be adopted by the 14th RCP Congress.

At the same time, we must make sure that the best party cadres in all areas are elected as delegations to the congress and as candidates for the next Central Committee, thus ensuring—in accordance with the Statute provisions and the Central Committee decisions—the revolutionary-workers nature of the party's leadership bodies.

Let us see to it that the general meetings of the basic organizations and the party conferences will constitute a vigorous manifestation of the strength and unity of the party, the supreme guarantee for implementing the socioeconomic development programs and a guarantee for the party in commendably playing its role as the vital core of the entire nation and as the leading political force in all areas! (Loud, prolonged applause)

It is also necessary to broadly discuss the documents of the 14th RCP Congress within the entire party and with all people, so that they express the will of the entire party and of our whole nation in the best way, and that they reflect the genuinely democratic and revolutionary-workers discussions, and the participation of the people in consciously building their own future of well-being and happiness, of communism. (Loud applause)

At the same time, it is necessary to take firm action to fulfill the plan and the programs for socioeconomic development for the next 6 months and the entire 5-year plan in industry, agriculture, and all the other sectors. All working people's collectives, the revolutionary-workers democracy bodies, and the party organizations should come to the congress with the best of achievements in all areas, so that they can report to the congress that they have fulfilled this year's plan under favorable conditions and that they are ready to fulfill the 1990 plan and the overall 5-year plan, thus ensuring a lasting base for our homeland's future development.

In conclusion, once again I want to express thanks to the party Central Committee for nominating me for the position of party secretary general; this will be discussed with the entire party and all people, and will be submitted to the 14th RCP Congress.

As I mentioned yesterday, I view this trust as an expression of the fact that throughout my entire activity I have always fulfilled the aspirations of our people for independence, and I have served the party and the cause of socialism and peace in the world.

Once again I assure you, dear comrades, and I assure the entire party and all people that in the future, too, there will be no higher goal for me than to contribute with all my efforts, together with the other comrades, with the Central Committee, the entire party, and all our people, to the implementation of the programs for our future and long-term development, for our homeland's advancement toward communism, to guarantee the Romanian people a dignified place among the ranks of free nations in the world, and to ensure our wonderful communist future in Romania! (Loud, prolonged applause, cheers; long chants of "Ceausescu, reelected—at the 14th Congress!")

At the end of the plenum, after the discussions and unanimous adoption of the decisions, once again we can say that we have covered a long road, we have climbed great heights, overcome many obstacles, and we have won wonderful victories! From the heights we have reached, we are able to clearly see the high peaks and wonderful and bright lights of humanity's spring—the lights of communism. Let us do all we can to cover the distance left in the shortest time possible and in the complete unity of our whole nation! (Loud, prolonged applause; long chants of "Ceausescu, Romania—our esteem and pride!")

In conclusion I want to express the conviction that all participants in the plenum, all party organizations, bodies, and members, all working people, irrespective of nationality, and all our people will unflinchingly fulfill the targets for our socioeconomic development, will participate actively in the discussion of the documents, in the preparation of the 14th RCP Congress, and in formulating the prospects for Romania's progress toward communism! (Loud, prolonged applause; long chants of "Ceausescu—RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the people!")

With this conviction, I want to convey to the participants in the plenum, to the Communists, all working people, and to our entire people best wishes for new achievements and accomplishments, and for fresh successes in all areas!

Much good health and happiness! (Loud, prolonged applause, cheers; long chants of "Ceausescu—RCP!" "Ceausescu and the people!" "Ceausescu, Romania—our esteem and pride!" and "Ceausescu reelected at the 14th Congress!") In an atmosphere of great enthusiasm and close unity all those present in the hall stand up and give long-lasting ovations, for minutes on end, to the RCP—the vital core of the entire nation—and to the party secretary general and country's president, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu)



**Vajgl Queries Purpose of U.S. Kosovo Amendment**  
*LD0607174589 Belgrade TANJUG in English*  
1504 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, July 6 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government and public are fully justified in asking what is the purpose of the amendment on Kosovo adopted recently by the U.S. Congress's House of Representatives, as it is objectively directed against a settlement of the situation in this province in a political manner, Yugoslav Foreign Ministry spokesman Vajgl said today.

Vajgl recalled at today's news conference in Belgrade that Yugoslavia was making efforts to secure equal rights for all citizens of Kosovo regardless of their nationalities.

We have pointed this out to our American partners on many occasions, among other times also in the recent talks between Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and leading congressional figures, Vajgl said.

The U.S. amendment expresses concern over human rights violations in Kosovo, an autonomous province which is part of Yugoslavia's largest republic, Serbia, and where special measures have been in force since late February this year owing to separatism by ethnic Albanians.

Yugoslavia holds that the assessments and conclusions made in the amendment are contrary to the true situation and that the special measures are protecting the constitutional order and the basic rights of the Serbs and Montenegrins, who have been emigrating from the province for years fleeing the terror of ethnic Albanian separatists.

Vajgl said in this context that the question remained of the consequences for the disruption of the atmosphere of trust and mutual respect which had characterized Yugoslav-U.S. relations for decades.

Recalling that the Yugoslav Assembly had also expressed concern over the possible consequences of the adoption of the amendment on Kosovo in the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress, Vajgl pointed out that stable relations called for contributions from both sides. "We would like the government and Congress of the United States to keep this in mind," he concluded.

**Loncar, Iran's Velayati Hold Concluding Talks**  
*LD0607190989 Belgrade TANJUG in English*  
1710 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, July 6 (TANJUG)—Today's closing talks between Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar and visiting Iranian foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati were characterized by an exhaustive exchange of views on the situation in the Gulf and the Palestinian

and Lebanese questions, put in the context of preparations for the 9th non-aligned summit. Minister Velayati is in a brief working visit to Belgrade.

Loncar and Velayati also discussed the content and concept of work of the summit, to be held in Belgrade in September, and documents that it is to adopt.

The two officials agreed that favourable international trends might and should stimulate the Non-aligned Movement to engage, in a more efficacious and modern way, in the settling of foci of crisis and other major world questions.

During their talks yesterday, Loncar and Velayati discussed Yugoslav-Iranian cooperation and stressed that there was considerable room for its promotion in the economic field.

'Ali Akbar Velayati leaves Belgrade this evening.

**FEC Answers Questions About Events in Kosovo**  
*AU0607141289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian*  
1-2 Jul 89 p 11

[Unattributed report: "In Isolation According to the Law"]

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Jun—The federal government presented today's session of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly with a detailed answer to the questions raised by delegate Viktorija Potocnik concerning the number of people killed in Kosovo following the introduction of emergency measures; the demonstrators' age composition; the circumstances under which they lost their lives; the number of people that were isolated; the constitutional provisions under which this measure was introduced; and measures introduced in Kosovo in general.

According to the decision of the Provincial Executive Council and the "local" secretary of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs, since 1 March of this year, 237 people have been in isolation while 2 persons have had to report to the organs of internal affairs. Meanwhile, this measure has been terminated in 191 cases, but criminal charges were brought against 41 persons and misdemeanor charges against 18 persons. Also, there was no longer any need to apply this measure against the remaining 132 people, but the authorities are still working on "the assessment of the gathered documentation for filing criminal or misdemeanor charges" in 6 cases. On 24 June, 11 persons were still kept in isolation.

Out of all these (237) people, 58 launched an appeal to the Provincial Executive Council. The appeal was rejected in 40 cases while the rest of appeals are still being examined. The application of the measure of isolation is examined daily by a team of experts (representatives of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Serbia,

and the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Kosovo). In its reply the Federal Executive Council [FEC] stresses that the above-mentioned number of criminal and misdemeanor charges—brought on the basis of suspicion that hostile activities may be carried out—shows that isolation was justified. The FEC states that the additional proof for the justification of its decision was the fact that while they were placing 59 people in isolation the authorities discovered 3 machine guns, 2 automatic rifles, 21 military rifles, 75 pistols, and a large number of various kinds of ammunition. The FEC quoted Article 183 of the SFRY Constitution, Article 119 of the Provincial Constitution, and Article 53 of the Law on Internal Affairs as the legal basis for its decision.

As regards the legal basis, the FEC explained that the SFRY Presidency "established that extraordinary circumstances existed" in Kosovo on 27 February of this year, and that this was the reason to "introduce the state of emergency." The legal basis for this can be found in Articles 6 and 23 of the Law on All People's Defense.

As regards the people killed during the latest demonstrations in Kosovo, the FEC stated that since 23 March of this year 25 people were killed or succumbed to injuries, and that 228 people have been either lightly or seriously injured (126 militiamen and 102 demonstrators). As regards the age composition of those who were killed, two persons were between the age of 13 and 16, two between 16 and 18, one between 18 and 21, nine between 21 and 25, and one between 31 and 35. The rest were over 35. They were all of Albanian nationality. Among them there were six pupils, one student, six workers, two farmers, one pensioner, one craftsman, and six unemployed people. Out of these, 15 died instantly, 8 succumbed to injuries later, and the remaining 2 were militiamen.

The FEC answer also states that among the five people killed in the village of Dusanovo, two were pupils (age between 13 and 14) because the women and children were pushed in the front line. The FEC states that the death of these pupils had particularly upset the militiamen, but that this was something they could not prevent.

The FEC reply also contains the information about the European Parliament delegation visit to Kosovo on 30 May when during aggressive demonstrations the demonstrators and militiamen exchanged fire in which two demonstrators were killed. "About 10 demonstrators continued to run toward the hamlet of Mirovnica and nearby woods by which time the militia had lost track of them...." During the unrest in Kosovo there were also victims of stray bullets; the report mentioned Muj Muhamed and Behar Sumici. What is, however, intriguing is that "Mustafa Veseljaj, a pupil of a religious school, was found dead on 28 March in a cellar of a house in Pristina in which he had never lived before."

Explaining the circumstances under which these lives were lost, the FEC stated that during the demonstrations the militiamen warned the demonstrators before applying physical force, batons, and chemical substances, or before using special vehicles, or fire arms which were first used as a deterrence (firing in the air). It was only later that they had to fire "in the direction of demonstrators." This had to happen because the demonstrators displayed extreme brutality and fanaticism, because the militiamen were attacked with stones, knives, pitchforks, Molotov cocktails, bulldozers, and finally with fire arms. On 27 March the "militia was attacked by bursts of fire from several sides which led to a fierce clash" in which five persons were killed.

#### **FEC Queried About Attack Against Markovic**

*AU0607153289 Belgrade Domestic Service  
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 6 Jul 89*

[Text] Branko Skok, Croatian delegate to the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber, has sent a written note to the Federal Executive Council [FEC] asking whether the public prosecutor will initiate proceedings against the author of the article, The Government of Discord, and the chief and responsible editors of POLITIKA and POLITIKA EKSPRES which carried this article on 30 June and if he is going to do so when that will be done. This delegate is of the opinion that the article spreads interethnic hatred and fosters nationalist passions.

Let us recall: The commentary carried in POLITIKA and POLITIKA EKSPRES says that the FEC, headed by Ante Markovic, has been taking money from the south and transferring it to the north. The commentary says that a 30-percent reduction of the clearing rate of exchange of the dinar is also being considered, so there is no doubt that the government is working on deepening the discord further, that is, that this step is directed against some parts of the country. In other words, this could mean that Ante Markovic has taken the banner of discord from Stipe Suvar's hands.

According to the rules of procedure, the FEC has 8 days to answer, but it may also have an answer today at the session of the Federal Chamber.

#### **Albanian 'Hostile Activity' Noted in Montenegro**

*AU0607121589 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian  
4 Jul 89 p 10*

[TANJUG report: "Increasing Activity of Albanian Nationalists and Separatists"]

[Text] Titograd, 3 Jul (TANJUG)—The political and security situation in the country, especially the events in Kosovo, exerts a direct influence on the intensity of hostile activity in Montenegro from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism, and on the activities of hostile emigres and the Albanian security services. This was the view taken by the Coordinating Committee of the Executive Council of the Montenegrin Assembly in

monitoring activity to implement the Yugoslav program for Kosovo, in the course of which the fact has been ascertained that propaganda coming out of Albania is still inciting and supporting the activity of persons who act from such positions. The hostile activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists is definitely increasing. It has been a significant discovery, the assessment continues, that some members of the Albanian nationality were in solidarity with and supported the claims of the Stari Trg miners. An example of this was the initiative of some pupils at the 25 June High School at Tuzi near Titograd to send a telegram of support to the Kosovo miners and students. In addition, certain teachers at this school attempted to organize a collection for their financial assistance, recommending also the organization of a rally in Tuzi which would "show what the highlands think about the Stari Trg miners' protest."

In certain ethnically pure areas, according to the discoveries of the internal affairs organs, members of the Albanian nationality are definitely discontented and concerned over various kinds of disinformation and rumors spread by Albanian nationalists and separatists. The existence of a certain level of insecurity is also shown by the discovery that there is great interest in emigration to the United States and Western European countries among this nationality. Many cases of the emigration of individuals and entire families from the highland region and other places have been recorded, as well as three cases of people leaving our ships during port-calls in the United States. The Albanian nationalists are attempting to spread the idea alleging that "Because of the present position of the Albanians and the current pressure against them, emigration to the United States and the recently-opened camps in the FRG represents the only chance for a stroke of luck."

The republican security service, the communique of the Executive Council Coordinating Committee continues, has concentrated especially on detecting possible links with the Albanian security service and hostile emigres. It was stated that this has been because the Albanian security service, in addition to its extensive propaganda activity, has recently been showing ever greater interest in individual members of the Albanian nationality and Islamic believers in the areas of Ulcinj and Plav communes, trying to establish positions and strongholds among them.

The competent authorities in Montenegro have provided details of persons and families who have migrated from Kosovo. Last year 179 persons arrived from Kosovo, including 84 Albanians, 42 Montenegrins, 30 Muslims, 18 Serbs, 5 Romanians, and 2 Yugoslavs. In the same period, 228 persons left their homes and settled in Kosovo (92 Albanians, 76 Muslims, 40 Montenegrins, 12 Serbs, and 8 Romanians). Concerning the implementation of the Executive Council decision on the changes of personal names of members of the Albanian nationality, it was observed that no case of a change of name under duress had been noted.

#### Stojcevic Addresses Korcula Political Aktiv

AU0607145789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian  
3 Jul 89 p 3

[Seada Vranic report: "Clarification Is To Come"]

[Text] Zagreb, 2 Jul—Political events in Yugoslavia, interethnic disputes and friction and conflicts among certain republican leaderships are all being followed by the public in the Socialist Republic of Croatia not only extremely carefully, but also anxiously. This "tremor" in the public here has for months been reflected in increased pressure on the political leadership of Croatia to take a more active stand and to take up a more certain and clear position regarding these events. It is no secret that the leadership is most often reproached for "silence" because of—as it was stressed—its excessively soft and tolerant attitude to political events in the Socialist Republic of Serbia which, as interpreted here, also have an effect on circumstances in Croatia, and not only among citizens of Serbian nationality, and cause disquiet and unease among Croats and the rest.

Otherwise, criticism of the Croatian leadership and some of its main leaders no longer comes only from various discussion forums and expert discussions, but can be increasingly heard at official political meetings and even in the League of Communists [LC] itself. Therefore, it is not surprising that Stanko Stojcevic, president of the Central Committee of the LC of Croatia, who has recently been visiting Korcula where he had talks, among other things, with the political aktiv there, was "pressured" by numerous questions which most often related to the latest speech by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, at Gazi Mestan during festivities to mark the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo.

Thus, Stojcevic directly asked (Marko Vlasic): Is there anyone in Croatia who will take a stand regarding occurrences in Serbia, particularly regarding the speech by Milosevic, and does the lack of a clear stand mean that Milosevic is considered to be right or that perhaps the leadership is overcome with fear? Vjeka Vlasic was interested in whether the Central Committee of the LC of Yugoslavia had discussed Slobodan Milosevic's speeches, and Mladen Separovic asked who Milosevic is calling to war and an armed clash? He (Separovic) also demanded that the leadership of Croatia take a quite clear stand regarding this speech.

Having said that he understands people's concern at everything that is putting the SFRY at risk or even sows seeds of doubt and uncertainty, Stojcevic stressed that he firmly believes that no one can threaten the federal structure of Yugoslavia, because every other alternative does not have a chance. Every other possibility is aimed against the vital interests of all Yugoslav peoples and nationalities. I strictly adhere to the belief, said Stojcevic, that every community and the force in these communities must in the first instance put forward what

is good and oppose what is bad. In every part of Yugoslavia, only the forces of these communities can put forward what is new and better, along with the benevolent support of the socialist-oriented forces in the whole of Yugoslavia. In this context, Stojcevic cited the example of Croatia in 1971 when Communists—Croats, Serbs, and all others in the Croatian LC—used their own forces to oppose the threat of the mass movement. Even though at that time we had the support of Tito, stressed Stojcevic, it should be clear that without this internal force it would not be possible to resolve problems, and not even the problem in Croatia in 1971.

We were never naive and we never thought, said Stojcevic, that there would be no individuals or groups who would fight for the opposite aims of our revolution and be aggressive. Equality and man's freedom, regardless of what people or nationality is involved, must be our sacred creed, as well as the spreading of democracy and everything that presents man to a great extent as a free and independent individual. The Croatian leadership has not taken a stand regarding what one or another individual has said, but it has taken an orientation toward a political line. When individuals are discussed, it is often thought that a great act is being done or that we are hindering them in their exploits, intrigues, and corruption if we react to their pronouncements, but often we do not hinder them but sometimes even do them a favor. Stojcevic stressed that it is the duty of Communists in every community to above all take account of how a leader from their community behaves. How he behaves will depend on their stand. In this respect, when we assess such a speech we should not succumb to euphoria so that, for example, we equate the Croatian people and Croats, the Serbian people and Serbs, or any other people or nationality with those phenomena that are nationalist and with individuals who are nationalists and who spread hatred. We have not been concerned sufficiently deeply with the causes of the present situation. Unfortunately, we have used up more energy talking about the consequences. Thus, we have created opportunities for everyone to interpret the crisis in the way they want to, and even take out what is national and, with the help of our misfortunes, transform this into something nationalist, which, with all the phenomena that are appearing today, goes in the direction of collective chauvinism in some communities. Stojcevic stressed that those who are against the reforms and who constantly refer everything that happens in our country to political issues are setting a particular example in this.

In reply to the repeated demand to comment on Slobodan Milosevic's speech at Gazi Mestan and to demand that the organ that he heads (the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Croatian LC) take a stand on this, Stojcevic said that a discussion on certain speeches will be unavoidable at the session of the LC of Yugoslavia, and that the leadership of the Croatian LC will not deviate from a single one of its principled stands.

#### **DELO Publishes Yugoslav Alliance Platform**

*AU0607102789 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene  
24 Jun 89 p 31*

["Platform of the Yugoslav Alliance"]

[Text] 1. We will strive for a change in substance and organization of the Yugoslav state through elections in a constituent assembly. The task of this assembly will be to compose, write, and adopt a new constitution on democratic principles of a new Yugoslav society.

2. The Yugoslav Alliance will strive for changes to the Yugoslav Constitution (on the basis of which the constitutions of the several federal units will be framed) on the following principles.

The constitution should become the basic document of the state, of society, and of the status of the individual in his relationship to society and the state. It must not contain a political program of any political party that is in power at any moment. The federal constitution must embrace only those specific points that the state constitutions embrace in principle.

3. Yugoslavia should be the state of the South Slav peoples, administratively composed of federal units.

The constitution should guarantee to the state and the citizens the foundations of a general social democracy, which is the precondition for democratic work of the system of any institution, in this case of the Yugoslav state.

The implementation of the principles of general social democracy of man as an individual, the people or peoples, and the national minorities living in a federal unit and in the Yugoslav state, should be ensured through a federal unit.

The constitution should ensure to a federal unit the right to self-determination, secession, and association, and the same social and legal norms should apply to leaving as they do to entering.

The languages of the South Slav peoples should be the official languages, and they are equal all over the territory of the Yugoslav state. The languages of the national minorities are official and equal in the territory where a minority lives.

The capital of Yugoslavia should be New Belgrade, which should be territorially taken out of the territory of Serbia and should be arranged as a federal territory in the legal political sense.

The coat of arms of the Yugoslav state should include, written on the ribbon tying the sheafs of wheat, the date of the formation of Yugoslavia, 1 December 1918, which should symbolically represent and symbolize the creation of the Yugoslav state.



4. Yugoslavia should have a two-chamber assembly, which is the highest organ of authority in the Yugoslav state. The representation in the Assembly of Yugoslavia must be such that it assures the rights of the majority (according to the principle, one man one vote) and of the minority (according to the principle, one unit one vote). Because the units are (elementarily) defined on the basis of the territorial principle, it follows that in our circumstances, it is the federal unit that has one vote. Because the rights of the minority must equal the rights of the majority, the two chambers should have equal numbers of representatives.

The assembly should be composed of a federal chamber (upper house) and a chamber of representatives (lower house).

The Federal Chamber decides on the outlines of vital matters of the federal unit, the foreign policy of the Yugoslav state, and culture in the widest sense of the word in the federal unit. Representatives should be elected to this chamber on the basis of interest lists [interesna lista]. Each federal unit has the right to its own formula for the election of delegates to the Federal Chamber. The decisions are taken by a two-third majority of the overall number of the representatives in the chamber, except for vital matters of the federal unit, in which the principle of consensus applies.

The Chamber of Representatives decides on the outlines of the economy, foreign, and internal policy of Yugoslavia. Representatives are elected on the basis of election lists by registered political organizations that have the right to act on the entire territory of the state. The decisions in this chamber are taken by a majority considering the quorum, for which at least one half of all the representatives are necessary.

The two chambers jointly decide on the most important matters of the state according to the provisions of the Constitution.

The elections to the Federal Chamber and the Chamber of Representatives are held every 5 years.

The president of the Yugoslav state should be elected by the citizens who are of age at secret direct public elections for a period of 5 years. The function of the president should be formal [nominalen].

The Federal Executive Council is the executive organ of the assembly and as such operates in cooperation with it.

The judiciary should be separated from the state and become an independent field.

5. The powers of the several federal units, which are administratively divided into communes, should be apportioned on this basis. The powers of the federal units are such that they above all allow the operations of the state as a whole and in keeping with this, they allow

unhindered activities of themselves both in the political and the economic fields. The constitutions of the federal units must be subordinated to the above demands and be thus included in the activities of the federal entity.

6. The organization and the powers of the state and federal administrative bodies are to be based on these foundations.

7. Yugoslavia should allow the organizing of alliances that are politically active and participate in the elections to the federal chamber and the chamber of representatives.

The federal Socialist Alliance of the Working People should assume control over the formation and activities of the alliances, and the function and membership of the Socialist Alliance are to be changed in such a way that it is composed of the members of the several alliances on an equal basis and in equal numbers. In addition to supervising the alliances, the Socialist Alliance is also responsible for organizing all elections.

The League of Communists becomes just one of the alliances, and it loses its present privileged position.

8. The elections to all the political bodies are secret and direct.

The Chamber of Representatives is elected by all citizens of Yugoslavia who are of age, and they freely chose among the programs of the alliances and among the candidates who run on the entire territory of Yugoslavia.

The Federal Chamber is elected by all the people in the federal units who are of age, and these elections are not based solely on the political alliances but on all the organizations that wish to run in elections.

9. Other chapters of the Constitution (the Army, citizen rights, human rights, legal relationships) are to be written on the basis of modern world trends in the development of society.

In the economy, our guideline is a free market economy. We proceed from the premises on the organization of the state as outlined in the preceding points, which are the basic precondition for a successful working of the economy. What is in the forefront in any case is man, who needs both society and environment to live as well and as long as possible. In addition to the economic laws, social and ecological laws should therefore also be considered in the development of society, whose basis is the economy. Thus one should make possible the organization of trade unions that should become the basic organizations for the protection of workers' social and material rights. Ecology is another determinant affecting and guiding the development of society. These are the basic characteristics of the economic views of this alliance.

10. The basic guideline of the Yugoslav Alliance in writing this part of its program is the premise that Yugoslavia is of interest to the world and to Europe only as an integrated economic area with a free flow of labor, capital, goods, ideas, and so forth.

The Constitution should ensure the sovereignty of the enterprises and ensure a free organization of all economic and noneconomic factors.

Other fields should be regulated by laws, such as a law on enterprises, a law on banking, and so forth, which must be harmonized with the trends in the economically most developed countries.

Integration of the Yugoslav economy should be achieved on the basis of business rationality.

Yugoslav development programs should be drafted, and they should take into account the fact that the Yugoslav economic area is integrated.

11. The funds for aid to the underdeveloped regions must be abolished. The existing funds and the funds budgeted for the next year should be allocated as the starting capital of the Yugoslav Bank for Development, which will finance development projects on the profit principle, regardless of location. Less developed regions should have priority only in the case of programs of equal worth. In this way, a starting fund should be established to allocate monies to promising economic programs.

12. The economic development frequently has pernicious consequences for nature. The elimination of the consequences of ecologically unwise investments is extremely expensive and has a great effect on the economic viability of an enterprise. Ecological flawlessness should therefore be one of the basic yardsticks in assessing the quality of a development project.

13. Poor quality managing and professional workers are an extremely weak point in the Yugoslav economy. In this sense one should take investments in cadres as one of the basic yardsticks in assessing a development project.

On the basis of the experiences in the field of supplementary education, one should make the suggestion to all the economic chambers of the republics and provinces of Yugoslavia that the Cadre Training Center at Brdo near Kranj should develop into a Yugoslav Agency for Cadre Development. This agency should be financed with the funds of the Yugoslav Bank for Development.

The poor exploitation and unprofitability of a major part of social capital is also a consequence of poor managing cadres. A free flow of people and ideas would eliminate this problem. The Slovene economy is sinking because of

obsolete equipment and it cannot fully exploit the know-how achieved in the field of work organization, marketing, data processing, technology, and so forth. On the other hand, the economies of some republics are sinking because they do not know how to use their relatively modern equipment. The solution is an integration of know-how and resources.

14. The constitution should also ensure the equality of all forms of ownership. Small businesses and private enterprises should develop on this basis.

One should release and encourage any private initiative leading to entrepreneurship of a modern kind. New jobs should be created for all the unemployed and for those workers who will be made redundant in the state enterprises that will be incapable of transformation or that have a technological surplus of labor. Thus a natural transition from the old rigid system of business operations to the new modern model will be effected without major social upheavals.

These few capital changes should make possible a reorganization of the present system of the Yugoslav economy in such a way that it will be in free competition with private enterprise, which has unlimited economic development opportunities. In this way, the conditions will be created for a renewed upsurge of the Yugoslav economy and a transformation of society into a modern type of real human harmony.

Culture as a state of society is the third field that defines and marks a state and society. This state is usually a result of the legal political order in the state and of the situation in the economy of the state. Therefore the regulation of these two fields will make possible the regulation of the status of culture in society both in its content and in the material and financial sphere.

15. Schools are the basis of the state of culture in society. Society must provide educated young people who are able to join in modern world processes and currents, but of course also in respecting and preserving their traditions and customs, which are a consequence of historical, provincial, national, and state cultural traditions. Schools should therefore be reorganized in such a way that they will correspond to the above norms.

In the modern world of data processing and mobility, we may talk about an integration of the different world cultures. Yugoslavia must join in this flow and must contribute its share to the forming this future integrated world culture.

We will advocate the establishment of a Yugoslav ministry for culture, whose task should be to take care of the Yugoslav culture which exists and is the result of 70 years of joint living in the Yugoslav state by all its peoples and national minorities. Likewise, through the ministries in the federal units, this ministry should care for a normal preservation of the culture of the peoples